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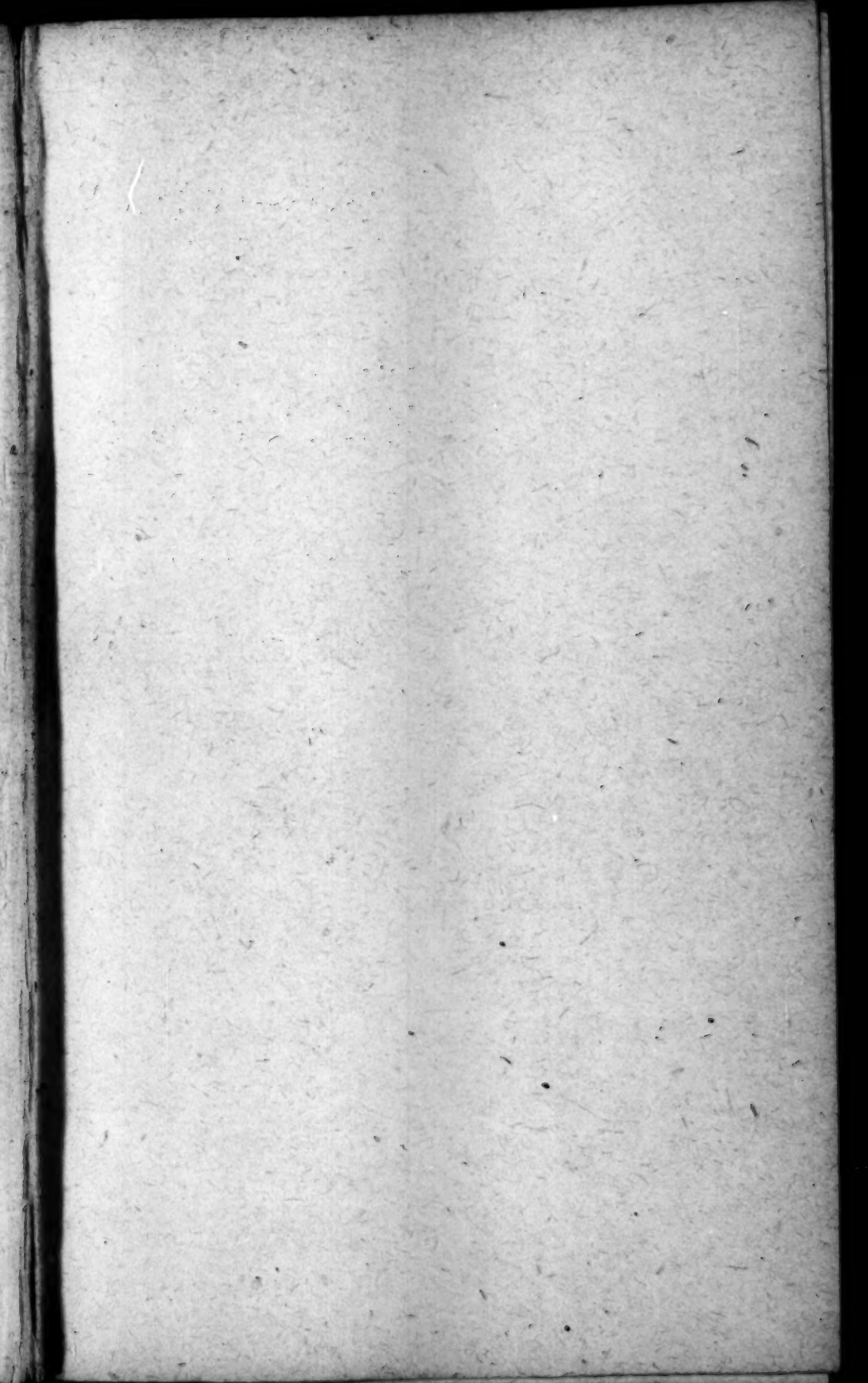
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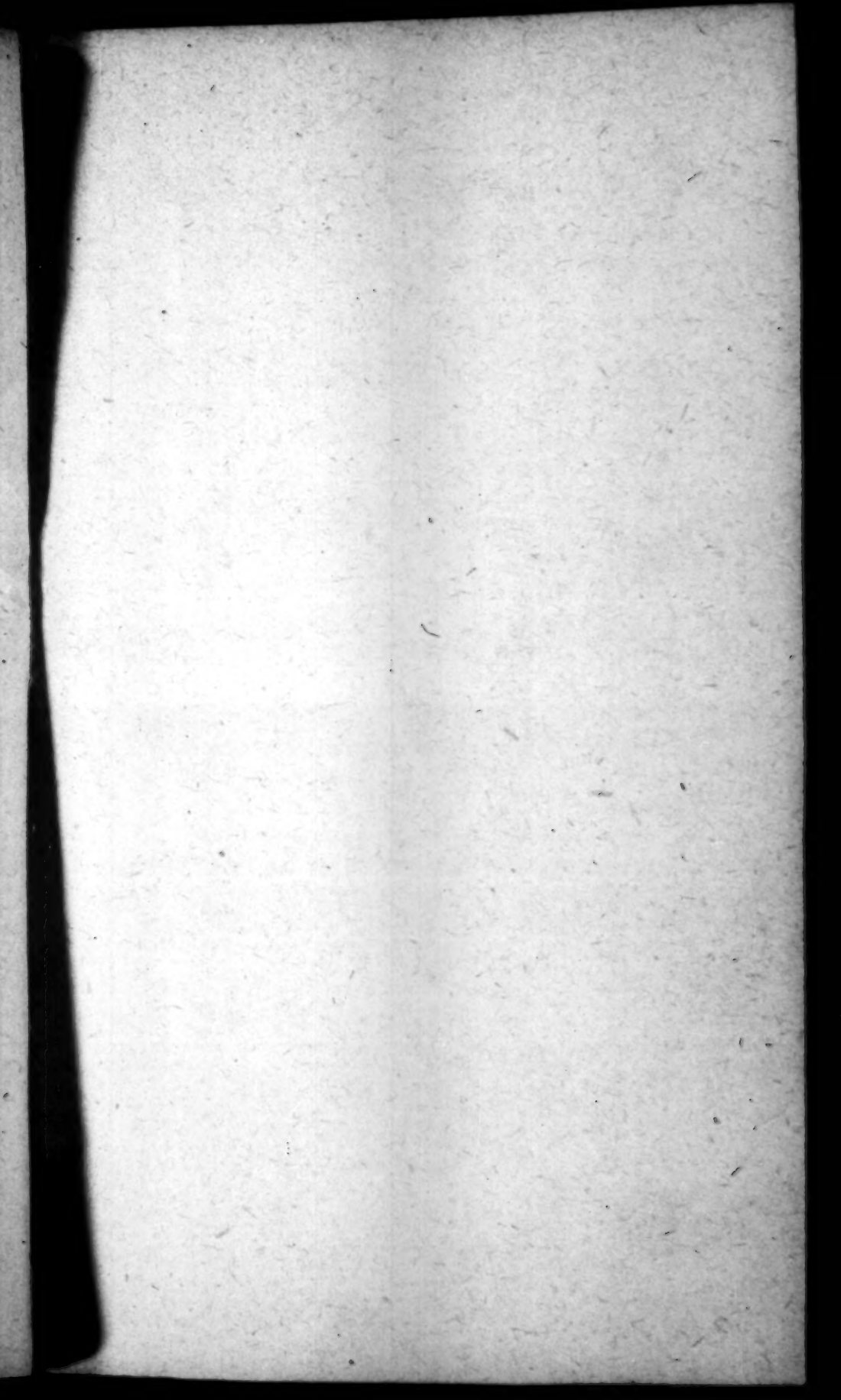


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A
Compleat History
OF
MAGICK, SORCERY,
AND
WITCHCRAFT;
CONTAINING,

- I. The *TRIALS* of several *WITCHES* at *Salem* in *New-England*.
- II. A Narrative of many Surprizing and Amazing *Sorceries*, and *Witchcrafts* practised in *Scotland*. With the Learned Arguments of Lawyers on both sides, at the *TRIALS* of Seven *WITCHES*, and the Remarkable Passages which happen'd at their Execution.
- III. The *Surrey DEMONIACK*. With all the *Testimonies* and *Informations* taken upon Oath relating thereunto.

VOLUME II.

L O N D O N :

Printed for E. Curll at the Dial and Bible,
J. Pemberton at the Buck and Sun, both against
St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street; and
W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row. 1716.

Complete History

of the

and

Witchcraft

CONTAINING

I. The Trials of several Witches

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II. A Description of the

III. The Story of the

IV. The Story of the

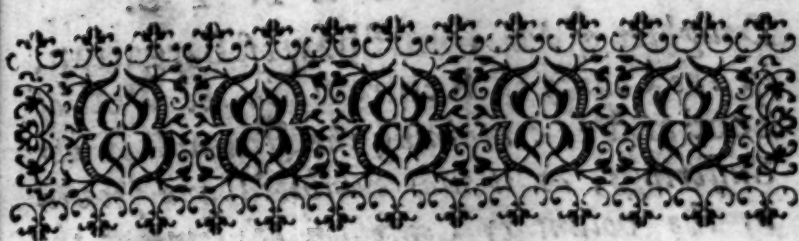
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Volume II

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1894



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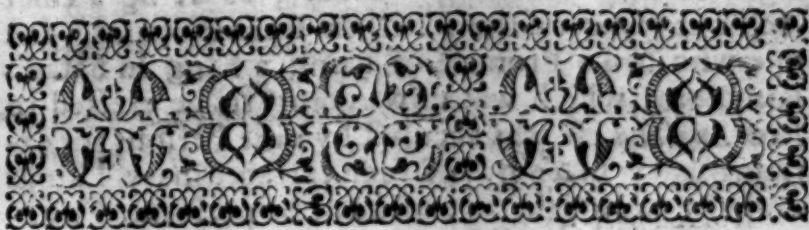
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A COMPLEAT
HISTORY
 OF
WITCHCRAFT, SOR-
CERY, &c.

VOL. II.

CHAP. I.

*Containing an Account of some Tryals of Witches,
 at a Court of Oyer and Terminer, held in
 Salem, in New-England.*

 **T**HE first History we shall give an
 Account of, in this Second Part of
 the History of Witchcraft, is, the
 Tryal of one G. B. who was Indicted
 for Witchcraft, and in the Prosecu-
 tion of the Charge against him, he
 was accused by five or six Persons bewitched, as
 the Author of their Miseries; he was accused by
 B eight

eight of the confessing Witches, as being a chief Actor at some of their hellish Rendezvous, and one who had a Promise of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, which was now going to be erected in New-England. He was accused by nine Persons for extraordinary Lifting, and such extraordinary Things done by Strength, as could not be performed without diabolical Assistance. He was accused for other such likethings, by thirty Persons who testified against him, nor were these thought to be half of what might have been brought against him. However they were thought sufficient to convict him of Witchcraft, by the Judge who directed in that Case.

The Court being sensible, that the Testimonies of the Parties bewitched used to be esteemed as Suspicions or Presumptions against one indicted for Witchcraft, the Testimonies of several Persons were heard, who were notoriously bewitched, and every Day tortured by invisible Hands, and charging the Spectres or Apparitions of G. B. to be concerned in their Torments. At the Examination of this G. B. the Persons betwitched were most grievously handled, with preternatural Effects which could not be counterfeited, all ascribing what happened to them to the Endeavours of G. B. to kill them. One of the bewitched Persons upon Tryal confessed, That in all her Agonies, a little black haired Man came to her, saying his Name was B. bidding her set her Hand to a Book which he shewed her, and boasting that he was a Conjuror above the ordinary Rank of Witches. He often persecuted her with the Offer of that Book, saying, *she should be well, and need fear no Body if she would but sign it;* but he often inflicted cruel Pains and Sufferings upon her because she refused it.

The Testimonies of the other Sufferers concurred with this, and it was remarkable, that whereas biting was one of the Ways, which Witches used to torment the Sufferers; when they cried out of G. B. biting them, the print of Teeth would be seen on the Flesh of the Complainers, and just such a Set of Teeth as G. B.'s would then appear upon them, which could be distinguished from those of other Men. Others of them testified, that in their Torments G. B. tempted them to go to a Sacrament, to which they perceived him, with the Sound of a Trumpet, summoning other Witches, who quickly after the Sound would come from all Quarters unto the Rendezvous. One of them falling into a Trance, affirmed that G. B. had carried her away into a very high Mountain, where he shewed her Mighty and Glorious Kingdoms, and said, *he would give her them all, if she would write in his Book; but she told him, they were none of his to give, and refused his Proposals, enduring a great deal of Torment for that Refusal.*

It cost the Court a great deal of Trouble to hear the Testimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depositions, they would for a long time be taken with Fits, that made them incapable of saying any thing. The Chief Judge asked the Prisoner, who he thought hindered the Witnesses from giving their Testimonies; and he answered, *he supposed it was the Devil.* That Honourable Person replied, *How comes the Devil to be so loth to have any Testimony born against you?* which cast him into very great Confusion.

But further, It hath been very usual for the People bewitched to be entertained with the Apparitions of Ghosts of murdered People, at the same time that the Spectres of the Witches troubled them; and these Ghosts always frightened the Beholders more than all the other Spectral Representations; and when they shewed themselves, they

always cried out of being murdered by the Witchcrafts or other Violences of the Persons who were present in Spectre. And we are further to consider, that once or twice these Apparitions have been seen by others, at the same time that they have appeared to the bewitched; and these Apparitions have seldom been seen, but when something unusual or unsuspected hath attended the Death of the Party thus appearing; some who have been accused by these Apparitions according of the bewitched People, who had never heard a Word of any such Persons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confessed the Murthers of those very Persons, though these also did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly several of the bewitched had given in their Testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said they were G. B.'s two Wives, and that he had been the Death of them, and that the Magistrates must be told of it, before whom, if B. upon his Tryal denied it, they did not know but that they should appear again in Court.

Now G. B. had been Infamous, for the barbarous Usage of his two late Wives, all the Country over; besides it was testified, that the Spectre of G. B. threatening of the Sufferers told them, that besides others, he had killed Mrs. *Lawson* and her Daughter *Anne*. And it was observed, that these were the Wife and Daughter of one, whom this G. B. might have a prejudice towards, being serviceable at *Salem* Village, from whence himself had, in ill times removed some Years before; and that when they died, which was long since, there were some odd Circumstances about them, which made some of the Attendants there suspect something of Witchcraft, though none imagined from whence it should come.

G. B. being now upon his Tryal, one of the bewitched Persons was seized with Horror by the Ghosts of B's two deceased Wives, then appearing before him, and crying for Vengeance against him. Upon which several of the bewitched Persons were successively called in, who not knowing what the former had seen or said, concurred in their Horror of the Apparition, which each affirmed he had before him. But he, though much concerned, absolutely denied that he saw any thing of it, nor was it any Part of his Conviction.

Judicious Persons have allowed it, as a strong Evidence in the Convicting of Witches, when Persons are impeached by other Notorious Witches, to be as ill as themselves, especially if the Persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God. Now as there might have been Testimonies enough of G. B's Antipathy to Prayer, and the other Ordinances of God, though by his Profession, singularly obliged to it; so there now come in against the Prisoner the Testimonies of several Persons, who confessed their having been horrible Witches, and ever since their Confessions, had been themselves terribly tormented by the Devils and other Witches, as much as the other Sufferers, and undergone the Pains of many Deaths for their Confessions.

These now testified, that G. B. had been at Witch-meetings with them, and that he was the Person that had seduced and compelled them into the Snares of Witchcraft. That he promised them fine Cloaths for doing it, that he brought Poppets to them, and Thorns to stick into those Poppets for the afflicting of other Persons; and that he exhorted them with the rest of the Crew to bewitch all Salem Village, but to do it gradually if they would prevail in what they did.

B 3

When

When the *Lancashire* Witches were condemned, I don't remember there was any considerable further Evidence than that of the bewitched, with that of some that confessed; but there were other Things against G. B. to render what had been already produced more credible. It is reckoned amongst the Convictions of a Witch, by a famous Divine, That the Testimony of the Party bewitched, whether pining or dying, together with the joint Oaths of sufficient Persons, that have seen certain prodigious Pranks or Feats wrought by the Party accused, were sufficient; and it appeared, that G. B. had ensnared himself by several Instances, which he had formerly given of his preternatural Strength, which were now produced against him; for though he was a very puny Man, yet he had often done Things beyond the Strength of a Giant. A Gun of about seven Foot Barrel, and so heavy, that Strong Men could not steadily hold it out with both Hands, as appeared by the Testimonies of several Persons of Credit and Honour, he made nothing of taking it up behind the Lock, with one Hand, and holding it out like a Pistol, at Arm's Length; but G. B. in his Vindication, said that an *Indian* was there and held it out at the same time; whereas none of the Spectators ever saw any such *Indian*, but supposed, the Black Man (which the Witches call the Devil, and they commonly say resembles an *Indian*) might afford him Assistance. Evidence was likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up a whole Barrel filled with *Malasses* or *Cider*, in very disadvantageous Postures, and carrying them through the Difficultest Places out of a *Canoe* to the Shoar.

Two other Witnesses testified, that G. B. only putting the Fore-finger of his Right-hand into the Muzzle of a heavy Gun, or a Fouling-piece about fix or seven Foot Barrel, lifted up the Gun and held it out at Arm's Length, which the Deponents thought

thought a Strong Man could not with both Hands lift up, and hold out at the Butt-end as usual. One of these Witnesses was over-perswaded by some People, to be out of the way upon G. B's Tryal, but he came afterwards with sorrow for his withdrawing, and gave his Testimony.

Several Witnesses likewise came in, whose Testimonies related to the Domestick Affairs of G. B. which had a very hard Aspect upon him, and not only proved him a very ill Man, but also confirmed the Belief of the Character which had already been given.

It was also testified, that keeping his two successive Wives in a strange Kind of Slavery, he would when he came home from abroad, pretend to tell the Talk which any had with them; that he had brought them to the point of Death by his hard dealing with them, and then made the People about him to promise that in case Death should happen, they would say nothing of it: that he used all the means he could to make his Wives to Write, Sign, Swear and Seal a Covenant, never to reveal any of his Secrets; That his Wives had privately complained to the Neighbours about frightful Apparitions of evil Spirits, with which their House was sometimes infested, and that many such Things have been whispered amongst the Neighbourhood; there were also some other Testimonies relating to the Death of People, whereby the Consciences of an impartial Jury were convinced that G. B. had bewitched the Persons mentioned in the Complaints.

One Mr. Ruck, Brother-in-Law to this G. B. testified that G. B. and himself, and his Sister G. B's Wife, going out for two or three Miles to gather Strawberries, Ruck with his Sister rode home very softly, with G. B. in their Company on foot, who stepped aside a little into the Bushes, upon which they stopped a little, and hallowed for him,

but he not answering they went homewards, and quickened their Pace without expecting to see him in a considerable time; yet when they were got home almost, to their great Astonishment, they found him on Foot with them, having a Basket of Strawberries. G. B. then immediately fell to chide his Wife, for what she had been speaking to her Brother of him on the Road, which when they wondered at, he told them he knew their Thoughts. *Ruck* being startled at that, made some Reply, intimating, that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. made answer, *My God makes known your Thoughts to me.*

The Prisoner now at the Bar had nothing to answer unto what was now witnessed against him, that was worth considering, only he said, *Ruck and his Wife left a Man with him, when they left him,* which *Ruck* now affirmed to be false; and when the Court asked him, what the Man's Name was, his Countenance was much altered, nor could he say who it was. But the Court began to think, that he then stepped aside, that by the Assistance of the Black-Man he might put on his Invisibility, and in that *Fascinating* Mist, gratify his own Jealous Humour to know what they said of him; which Trick of rendering themselves invisible, Witches pretend to, and which is often Demonstrated that they do perform.

But further, as faltering, faulty, inconstant and contrary Answers, upon judicial and deliberate Examination, are counted unlucky Symptoms of Guilt, in all Crimes and especially Witchcraft; there never was a Person more eminent for them than G. B. both at his Examination, and on his Tryal; his Contradictions and Falsehoods, shewing, that he had very little to say, having alledg'd some things which he could not prove, reflecting on the Reputation of some of the Witnesses; only he gave in a Paper to the Jury, wherein though he had

had many times before granted, not only that there are Witches, but also that the present Sufferings of the Country are the Effects of Horrible Witchcraft, yet he now endeavoured to evince, That there neither are, nor ever were Witches, that having made a Compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to torment other People at a Distance. This Paper was transcribed out of *Acly*, which the Court presently knew as soon as they heard it, but he denied it, and said a Gentleman gave it him in Writing.

The Jury brought him in Guilty, but when he came to Die, he utterly denied the Fact, of which he had been convicted.



*The Tryal of Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver,
at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held
at Salem.*

SHE was Indicted for Bewitching several Persons in the Neighbourhood. The Indictment being drawn up according to the Form in such Cases made use of, and she pleading not guilty, several Persons were brought in, who had long undergone many kind of Miseries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally ascribed to a horrible Witchcraft. There was little occasion to prove the Witchcraft, it being Evident and Notorious to all the Beholders; yet to fix it on the Prisoner at the Bar, the first Thing made use of was the Testimony of the bewitched, several of which testified, that the Shape of the Prisoner oftentimes very grievously pinched them, choaked them, bit them and afflicted them, urging them to write their

Names in a Book, which the said Spectre called *Ours*. One of them further testified, that it was the Shape of this Prisoner, with another, which one Day took her from her Wheel, and carried her to the River Side, and threatned to drown her, if she did not sign to the Book mentioned, which notwithstanding she refused. Others also testified, that the said Shape did in her Threats boast to them, that she had been the Death of sundry Persons, which she then named, and that she had ridden a Man whom she then named. Another testified, the Apparition of the Ghosts unto the Spectre of *Bishop* cried out, *You murdered us*, The Matter of Fact giving sufficient Suspicion of the Truth of it.

It was also testified, that at the Examination of the Prisoner before the Magistrates, the bewitched were extremely tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down, and in such a manner that there could be no Deceit in the Matter; but as soon as she touched them with her Hand, when they lay in their Swoons, they would immediately Revive, and not upon the Touch of any one else. Besides upon some particular Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her Head, or the turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like Postures. And many of the like Accidents now fell out whilst she was at the Bar; one at the same time testifying, that she said, she could not be troubled to see the Afflicted thus tormented.

There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a Man striking once at a Place where a bewitched Person said the Shape of this *Bishop* stood, the bewitched cried out, that he had tore her Coat in a Place then particularly mentioned, and the Woman's Coat was found to be torn in the same Place.

Further,

Further, one *Deliverance Hobbs*, who had confessed her self to be a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres for confessing. And she now testify'd, That this *Bishop* tempted her to sign the Book again, and to deny what she had confessed, and affirmed, That it was the Shape of this Prisoner that whipped her with Iron-Rods to compel her thereunto; and also, that this *Bishop* was at a general Meeting of the Witches in a Field at *Salem Village*, and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament in Bread and Wine there administred.

And to render it further unquestionable, that the Prisoner at the Bar was the Person truly charged in this Witchcraft, several Evidences of other Performances of Witchcraft by her, were produc'd. First *John Cook* testify'd, That above five or six Years ago, one Morning about Sun-rise, he was assaulted in his Chamber by the Shape of this Prisoner, which looked on him, grinned at him, and very much hurt him with a Blow on one Side of the Head; and that on the same Day, about Noon, the same Shape walked about in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his Hand into his Mother's Lap six or eight Foot from him.

Samuel Grey testify'd, That about Fourteen Years agoe, he waked in the Night, and saw the Room where he lay full of Light; and that he then saw a Woman plainly between the Cradle and Bed-side, which looked upon him; but when he rose, it vanished, though he found all the Doors fast. Looking out at the Entry Door, he saw the same Woman in the same Garb again, and said in *God's Name, what do you come for?* He went to Bed and had the same Woman assaulting him again. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Scrietch, and the Woman disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted, and though it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this Time it pined away, and

and after several Months died in a sad Condition. He knew not *Bishop* nor her Name, but when he saw her after this, he knew by her Countenance and Apparel, and all Circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this *Bishop* which had thus troubled him.

John Bly and his Wife testify'd, That he bought a Sow of *Edward Bishop*, the Husband of the Prisoner, and was to pay the Price agreed unto another Person. This Prisoner being angry that she was hindred from singring the Money, quarrelled with *Bly*. Soon after which the Sow was taken with strange Fits, Jumping, Leaping, and knocking her Head against the Fence; she seemed blind and deaf, and would neither eat nor be suck'd; whereupon a Neighbour said, she believed the Creature was over-looked, and sundry other Circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents believe that *Bishop* had bewitched it.

Richard Coman testify'd, That eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a Light burning in the Room, he was annoyed with the Apparition of this *Bishop*, and of two more that were Strangers to him, who came and oppressed him so, that he could neither stir himself; nor wake any one else, and that he was the Night after molested in the like manner, the said *Bishop* taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the Bed. His Kinsman for this Reason offer'd to lodge with him, and that Night, as they were awake, discoursing together, this *Coman* was once more visited by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesome, his Kinsman at the same time being struck Speechless, and unable to move Hand or Foot. He had laid his Sword by him, which these unhappy Spectres strove to wrest from him, only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of the House, but although they heard him, yet they had not Power to speak or stir,
until

until at last one of the People crying out what is the matter, the Spectres all vanished.

Samuel Shattock testify'd, That *Bishop* often came to his House upon such frivolous and foolish Errands, that they suspected she came with a mischievous Purpose; whereupon presently his eldest Child, which was of a promising Health and Strength, as any Child of his Age, began to droop exceedingly, and the oftner *Bishop* came to the House, the Child grew worse. As the Child would stand at the Door, he would be bruised and thrown against the Stones by an invisible Hand, and likewise knock his Face against the Sides of the House, and bruise it after a miserable Manner. Afterwards *Bishop* would bring him Things to dye, which he could not imagine the Use of, and when she paid him a Piece of Money, the Purse and Money were unaccountably convey'd out of a Locked-Box, and never seen any more. The Child was immediately upon that taken with terrible Fits, which his Friends thought he would have dy'd off. Indeed he did almost nothing but Cry and Sleep for several Months together, and at last his Understanding was quite taken away. Amongst other Symptoms of an Enchantment upon him, one was, that there was a Board in the Garden, on which he would walk, and all the Inventions in the World would never fetch him off. About seventeen or eighteen Years after, there came a Stranger to *Shattock's* House, who seeing the Child, said, This poor Child is bewitched, and you have a Neighbour not living far off who is a Witch. He added, Your Neighbour hath had a falling out with your Wife, and she said in her Heart, Your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her Pride in this Child. He then remembered, that *Bishop* had parted from his Wife in muttering and menacing Words, a little before the Child was taken ill. The above-mentioned Stranger would needs

needs carry the bewitched Boy with him, to *Bishop's House*, on Pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in a furious Manner, and flew also upon the Boy, scratching his Face till the Blood came, and saying, Thou Rogue, what dost thou bring this Fellow here to plague me? Now, it seems, the Man had said before he went, that he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was followed with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascribed to Witchcraft, and wherein he would be thrown still into the Fire or Water, if he was not constantly looked after, and it was really thought that *Bishop* was the Cause of it.

John Londer testify'd, That upon some little Controversie with *Bishop* about her Fowls, going well to Bed, he awaked in the Night by Moon-light, and saw clearly the Likeness of this Woman grievously oppressing him, in which miserable Condition she held him, unable to help himself, till near Day. He told *Bishop* of this, but she denied it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at Home on a *Lord's-Day*, with the Doors shut about him, he saw a black Pig approach him, at which, he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after, sitting down, he saw a black Thing jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The Body was like that of a Monkey, the Feet like a Cock's, but the Face much like a Man's; he being so much frightned that he could not speak, this Monster spoke to him, and said, *I am a Messenger sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some Trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this World.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his Hands upon it, but he could feel no Substance, and it jumped out of the Window again, but immediately came in by the Porch, though the Doors were shut, and said, *You had better take my Counsel.* He then struck at it with

with a Stick, but the Arm with which he struck was presently disabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the back Door, and spy'd this *Bishop* in her Orchard, going towards her House, but he had no Power to set one Foot forwards towards her; whereupon returning into the House, he was immediately accosted by the Monster he had seen before, which Goblin was now going to fly at him, whereat he cried out, *The whole Armour of God, be between thee and me*; whereupon it sprung back, and flew over the Apple-Tree, shaking many Apples off the Tree as it flew over. At this Leap it flung Dirt with its Feet up against the Man's Breast, upon which he was then struck dumb, and so continued for three Days together. Upon producing of this Testimony, *Bishop* denied that she knew this Deponent; yet their two Orchards joined together, and they often had their little Quarrels for two Years together.

William Stacy testify'd, That receiving Money of this *Bishop*, for Work done by him, he was gone but about three Rods from her, and looking for his Money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Sometime after *Bishop* asked him, whether his Father would grind her Grist for her? He demanded why? She answered, Because Folks count me a Witch. He answered, No Question but he will grind it for you. Being then gone about six Rods from her, with a small Load in his Cart, suddenly the Off-Wheel of his Cart stumped, and sunk down into a Hole, upon plain Ground, so that the Deponent was forced to get Help to recover the Wheel; but stepping back to look for the Hole, which might occasion this Disaster, there was none at all to be found. Some time after he was waked in the Night, but it seemed as light as Day, and he perfectly saw the Shape of this *Bishop* in the Room, troubling him; but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charged *Bishop* afterwards with

with it, and she denied it not, but was very angry.

Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatened by *Bishop*, as he was in a dark Night, a going to the Barn, he was very suddenly taken or lifted from the Ground, and thrown against a Stone-Wall. After that he was again hoisted up, and thrown down a Bank at the End of his House. After this, again passing by this *Bishop*, his Horse with a small Load, striving to draw, all his Geer flew in Pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this Deponent going then to lift a Bag of Corn of two Bushels, could not move it with all his Strength.

This Deponent was ready to testify several other Pranks, played by this *Bishop*. He also testify'd, That he believed that the said *Bishop* was the Cause of his Daughter *Priscilla's* Death, giving very good Reasons for that Suspicion.

To confirm all, *John Bly*, and *William Bly* testify'd, that being employ'd by *Bridget Bishop* to help to take down the Cellar Wall of the old House, wherein she formerly lived, in the Holes of the old Wall, they found several Poppets made up of Rags and Hogs Bristles, with headless Pins in them, the Points being outward, of which she could give no reasonable or tolerable Account to the Court.

One Thing that made against the Prisoner was, her being evidently convicted of gross lying in the Court, several Times whilst she was making her Plea. Besides this, a Jury Woman found a Preternatural Teat upon her Body; and upon a second Search, within three or four Hours, there was no such Thing to be found. There was also another Account of other People whom this Woman had afflicted, and there might have been many more, had there been occasion for them.

There was one thing more which was very strange, with which the Court was newly entertained.

tained. As this Woman was under a Guard, passing by the great and spacious Meeting-House of Salem, she gave a Look towards the House, and immediately a Dæmon invisibly entering the Meeting-House, tore down a Part of it, so that though there was no Person to be seen there, yet the People, at that Noise, running in, found a Board which was strongly fastened with several Nails, removed to another part of the House.



The Tryal of Susanna Martin, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held by Adjournment at Salem.

Susanna Martin pleading *Not guilty* to the Indictment of Witchcraft which was brought in against her, the Evidences of several People were produc'd, who were sensibly and grievously bewitched, all complaining of the Prisoner at the Bar, as the Cause of all their Miseries. And now, as well as in the other Trials, an extraordinary Endeavour by Witchcraft, with cruel and frequent Fits, was made use of to prevent the poor Sufferers from making their Complaints, which the Court was forced to sustain with a great deal of Patience and Time, before they could give in their Evidence.

There was also an Account given of what passed at her Examination before the Magistrates, the Cast of her Eye then striking the afflicted down to the Ground, whether they saw that Cast of her Eye or no; and amongst other Passages, these following were remarkable betwixt the Person examined and the Magistrate.

* *Magistrate.*

Magistrate. Pray, what ails these People ?

Susan. Martin. I don't know.

Mag. But what do you think ails them ?

Martin. I don't desire to pass my Judgment upon it.

Mag. Don't you think they are bewitched ?

Martin. No, I don't think they are.

Mag. Tell us your Thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my Thoughts are my own, when they are in, but when they are out, they are another's. Their Master ———

Mag. Their Master ? Who do you think is their Master ?

Martin. If they be dealing in the Black Art, you may know as well as I.

Mag. Well; what have you done towards this ?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Mag. Why; it is you or your Appearance.

Martin. I cannot help it.

Mag. Is it not your Master ? How comes your Appearance to hurt these ?

Martin. How do I know ? He that appeared in the Shape of *Samuel*, a glorify'd Saint, may appear in any one's Shape.

It was then also noted in her, as in others like her, that if the afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the Ground; and when she was asked the Reason of it, she said, *I cannot tell; it may be, the Devil bears me more Malice than another.*

The Court was encouraged and excited by these Things, to enquire further into the Conversation of the Prisoner, and to examine what might occur, to render these Accusations further credible. Upon which, *John Allen* of *Salisbury* testify'd, That he refusing, because of the Weakness of his Oxen, to cart some Staves at the Request of this *Martin*, she was displeased at it, and said, *It had been as good that he had, for his Oxen should never do him much more Service.* Upon which this Deponent said

said; *Doeſt thou threaten me, thou old Witch? I will throw thee into the Brook,* to avoid which ſhe flew over the Bridge and eſcaped. As he was going Home, one of his Oxen tired, ſo that he was forced to unyoke him, that he might get him Home. He then put his Oxen, with many more, upon *Salisbury Beach*, where Cattle uſed to get Fleſh. In a few Days all the Oxen upon the Beach were found, by their Tracks, to have run into the Mouth of *Mermack River*, and not returned; but the next Day they were found aſhoar upon *Plum Iſland*. They that ſought them uſed all imaginable Gentleneſs, but they would ſtill run away with Violence, which ſeemed wholly Diabolical, till they came near *Merimack River*, where they ran right into the Sea, ſwimming as far as they could be ſeen. One of them then ſwam back again, with a Swiftneſs amazing to the Beholders, who ſtood ready to receive him, and help up his tired Carcaſs; but the Beaſt ran furiously up into the Iſland, and from thence through the *Marches*, up into *Newbury Town*, and ſo up into the Woods, and after a while was found near *Amesbury*, ſo that of fourteen good Oxen, there was only this ſaved; the reſt were all caſt up, ſome in one Place, and ſome in another, drowned.

John Atkinſon teſtify'd, That he exchanged a Cow with a Son of *Suſan Martin's*, whereat ſhe muttered, and was unwilling he ſhould have it. Going to receive this Cow, though he hamſtrung her, and haltered her, ſhe of a tame Creature grew ſo mad, that they could ſcarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were faſten'd to her; and though ſhe was tied faſt to a Tree, yet ſhe made her Eſcape, and gave them ſuch further Trouble, that they could aſcribe it to no other Cauſe but Witchcraft.

Bernard

Bernard Peach testify'd, That being in Bed on the *Lord's Day* at Night, he heard a scrabbling at the Window, where he saw *Susanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the Floor. She took hold of this Deponent's Feet, and drawing his Body up into a Heap, she lay upon him near two Hours, in all which Time he could neither speak nor stir. At length, when he could begin to move, he laid hold on her Hand, and pulling it up to his Mouth, he bit three of her Fingers, as he judged, to the Bone, whereupon she went from the Chamber, down the Stairs, out at the Door. This Deponent, upon this, called to the People of the House, to tell them what had happened, and he himself followed her. The People saw her not, but there being a Bucket at the Left-Hand of the Door, there was a Drop of Blood found upon it, and several more Drops of Blood found upon the Snow newly fallen abroad. There was likewise the Print of her two Feet just without the Threshold, but no Sign of any Footsteps farther.

Another time this Deponent was desired by the Prisoner to come to a Husking of Corn at her House, and said, *If he did not come, it were better that he did!* He did not go, but the Night following, *Susanna Martin* and another came towards him. One of them said, Here he is! But he having a Quarter-staff, made a Blow at them. The Roof of the Barn broke his Blow, but following them to the Window, he made another Blow at them, and struck them down, yet they got up, and went out, and he saw no more of them. About this Time there was a Rumour about the Town, that *Martin* had a broken Head, but the Deponent could say nothing to that. The said *Peach* also testify'd the bewitching the Cattle to Death upon *Martin's* Discontents.

Robert Downer testify'd, That this Prisoner being some Years ago prosecuted at Court for a Witch,

he

he then said to her, He believed she was a Witch; at which she was much dissatisfy'd, and said, That some She Devil would shortly fetch him away; which Words were heard by others as well as himself. The Night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window the Likeness of a Cat, which flew upon him, took fast hold of his Throat, lay on him a considerable Time, and almost killed him. At last he remembered what *Susanna Martin* had threaten'd the Day before, and with much striving he cried out; *Avoid, thou She Devil, in the Name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, avoid!* Whereupon it left him, leaped on the Floor, and flew out at the Window.

There also came in several Witnesses, who testify'd, That before *Downer* ever spoke a Word of this Accident, *Susanna Martin* and the Family had related how this *Downer* had been handled.

John Kembal testify'd, That *Susanna Martin*, upon a causeless Disgust had threatned him about a Cow of his, That she should never do him any more good, which came to pass accordingly. For soon after the Cow was found stark dead on the Ground, without any Distemper to be found upon her. After which several of his Cattle died very strange Deaths, losing in one Spring the value of thirty Pounds. But the said *John Kembal* had a further Testimony to give against the Prisoner, which was very admirable.

Being desirous to furnish himself with a Dog, he applied himself to buy one of this *Martin*, who had a Bitch with Whelps in her House. But she not letting him have his Choice, he said, He would supply himself at one *Blezdal's*. Having marked a Puppy which he liked at *Blezdal's*, he met *George Martin*, the Husband of the Prisoner, going by, who asked him, whether he would not have one of his Wife's Puppies, and he answered, No. The same Day one *Edmund Elliot*, being at *Martin's* House, heard

George

George Martin relate, where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had said. Upon which *Susanna Martin* reply'd, If I live I'll give him Puppies enough. Within a few Days after, this *Kembal* coming out of the Woods, there arose a little black Cloud in the N. W. and *Kembal* immediately felt a Force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the Stumps of Trees that were before him, though he had a broad plain Cart-way before him; and though he had his Ax upon his Shoulder to make his Falls the more dangerous, he could not forbear going out of his Way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting-house there appeared to him a little Thing like a Puppy of a darkish Colour, which shot backwards and forwards between his Legs. He had the Courage to use all possible Endeavours to cut it with his Ax, but he could not hit it: The Puppy gave a Jump from him, and went, as it seemed to him into the Ground. Going a little farther, there appeared to him a little black Puppy somewhat bigger than the first, but as black as a Coal; its Motions were quicker than those of his Ax; it flew at his Belly, and then at his Throat, and then over his Shoulders, first one way, and then another. His Heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Devil would have tore his Throat out. But he recovered himself, and called upon God in his Distress, and naming the Name of Jesus Christ, it vanished away at once. The Deponent spoke not one Word of these Accidents, for fear of affrighting his Wife; but the next Morning *Edward Elliot* going into *Martin's* House, this Woman asked him where *Kembal* was. He answered, at Home in Bed, for ought he knew. She reply'd, They say he was frighted last Night. *Elliot* asked with what? She answered with Puppies. *Elliot* asked where she heard of it for he had heard nothing of it? She reply'd, about the Town. Although *Kembal* had mentioned the Matter to no Creature living.

William

William Brown testify'd, That Heaven having blessed him with a most Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his one Day met with this *Susanna Martin*, but when she came near to her, *Martin* vanished out of Sight, and left her extreemly frighted. • After which time, the said *Martin* often appeared to her, giving her no little Trouble; and when she did come, she was visited with Birds, which sorely pecked and pricked her, and sometimes a Bunch as big as a Pullet's Egg would rise in her Throat, ready to choak her, till she cry'd out, Witch, thou shan't choak me. Whilst this good Woman was in this Extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer on her behalf, whereupon her Trouble ceased, she saw not *Martin* as formerly, and the Church instead of their Fast, gave Thanks for her Delivery. But a considerable Time after, she being summoned to give in some Evidence at the Court against this *Martin*, quickly upon it, *Martin* came behind her, whilst she was Milking her Cow, and said unto her, For thy defaming me at Court, I will make thee the most miserable Creature in the World.

Soon after this, she fell into a strange Kind of Distemper, and became horribly Frantick, and incapable of any reasonable Action, the Physicians declaring, That her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly bewitched her, and in this Condition she now remained.

Sarah Atkinson testify'd, That *Susanna Martin* came from *Amesbury* to their House at *Newbury*, in an Extraordinary Season, when it was not fit to travail, she came as she said to *Atkinson*, all that long Way on Foot. She bragged and shewed how dry she was, nor could it be perceived, that so much as the Soles of her Feet were wet. *Atkinson* was amazed at it, and professed, That she should her self have been wet up to the Knees, if she had then come so far; but *Martin* reply'd, She scorned to be drabbled. It was noted upon her Trial, that this

Testimony

Testimony cast her into an extraordinary Confusion.

John Pressy testify'd, That being one Evening most unaccountably bewildred near a Field of *Martin's*, and several Times, as one under an Enchantment, returning to the Place he had left, at length he saw a marvellous Light, about the Bigness of half a Bushel, near two Rod out of the Way. He went and struck at it with a Stick, and laid it on with all his Might. He gave it above forty Blows, and felt it a palpable Substance, but going from it his Heels were struck up, and he was laid with his Back on the Ground, sliding, as he thought, into a Pit, from whence he recovered by taking hold on a Bush, though afterwards he could find no such Pit in the Place. Having after his Recovery gone five or six Rod, he saw *Susanna Martin* standing on his Left Hand, as the Light had done before, but they changed no Words with one another. He could scarce find his House in his Return, but at length he got Home extremely affrighted. The next Day it was upon Enquiry understood, That *Martin* was in a miserable Condition, by Pains and Hurts that were upon her.

It was further testify'd by this Deponent, That after he had given some Evidence against this *Susanna Martin*, many Years ago, she gave him foul Words about it, and said he should never prosper more; particularly, that he should never have any more than two Cows; that though he was never so likely to have more, yet he should never have them. And that from that very Day to this, for 20 Years together, he could never exceed that Number, but some strange Thing or other still prevented him having any more.

Jervis Ring testify'd, That about seven Years ago, he was oftentimes grievously oppressed in the Night, but saw not who troubled him, till at the last, he lying perfectly awake, plainly saw *Susanna Martin*

Martin

Martin approach him. She came to him, and forcibly bit him by the Finger, so that the Print of the Bite is now, though so long after, to be seen upon him.

Besides all these Evidences, there was a most wonderful Account of one *Joseph Ring* produc'd on this Occasion.

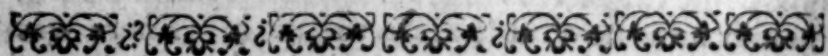
This Man hath been strangely carried about by *Demons*, from one Witch-meeting to another, for near two Years together, and for one quarter of this Time they have made him, and keep him dumb, though he is now able again to speak. There was one *T. H.* who having, as it is judg'd, a Design of engaging this *Joseph Ring* in a Snare of Devilism, contriv'd a way to bring this *Ring* two Shillings in Debt to him.

Afterwards this poor Man would be visited with unknown Shapes, and this *T. H.* sometimes amongst them, which would force him away with them to unknown Places, where he saw Meetings, Feastings, and Dancings; and after his Return, wherein they hurried him along through the Air, he gave Demonstrations to the Neighbours, that he really had been so transported. When he was brought unto these Hellish Meetings, one of the first Things they did to him, was to give him a knock on the Back, upon which he continued as if bound with Chains, uncapable of stirring out of the Place, till they released him. He related, That there often came to him a Man who presented to him a Book, to which he would have him set his Hand; promising that he should then have what he would, and presenting him with all the delightful Things, Persons and Places that he could imagine. But he refusing to subscribe, the Business would end with dreadful Shapes, Noises, and Scritchings, which almost scared him out of his Wits. Once with the Book there was a Pen offered him, and an Inkhorn with Liquor in it, which seem'd like Blood, but he never touch'd it. This

Vol. H. C Man

Man now affirmed, That he saw the Prisoner at several of those hellish Rendevouzes.

And here it is to be noted, That this Woman was one of the most impudent, scurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World, and discovered her self to be such through the whole Course of her Trial; yet when she was asked, what she had to say for her self, her chief Plea was, That she had led a most virtuous and holy Life.



The Trial of Elizabeth How, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held at Salem.

Elizabeth How then pleading not guilty to the Indictment of Witchcraft, which she was charged with, the Court according to the usual Proceedings of Courts in *England*, began with hearing the Depositions of several afflicted Persons, who were grievously tormented by evident and sensible Witchcraft, all complaining of the Prisoner as the Cause of their Trouble. It was also found, that the Sufferer was not able to bear her Look; as likewise, that in their greatest Swoons, they distinguished her Touch from other Peoples, by which they were raised out of them. There were other Testimonies of People, whom this How troubled nine or ten Years ago.

It hath been usual for bewitched Persons, at the same Time that the Spectres representing the Witches troubled them, to be visited with the Apparitions of Ghosts, pretending to have been murdered by the Witches then represented; and sometimes the Confessions of the Witches afterwards acknowledged those Murthers, which those Apparitions charged them with, though they had never heard what Informations had been given by the Sufferers. There were such Apparitions of Ghosts

Ghosts testify'd by some of the present Sufferers, and the Ghosts affirmed, That this *How* had murder'd them, which things were suspected but not proved.

This *How* had made some Attempts of joining to the Church of *Ipswich* several Years ago, but she was denied an Admission into that Society, partly through a Suspicion of Witchcraft then urged against her. And there now came in Testimonies of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some who had been Instrumental in hindering her from entering into the Communion she endeavour'd to intrude her self into.

There was a particular Deposition of *Joseph Stafford*, That his Wife had receiv'd an extream Aver-
sion to this *How* on the Reports of her Witchcrafts; but *How* one Day taking her by the Hand, and saying, I believe you are not ignorant of the great Scandal I lie under by an evil Report rais'd upon me, she immediately, and without Perswasion, like one enchanted, began to take this Woman's Part. *How* being sometime after propos'd, as desirous to be admitted to the Table of the Lord, some of the pious Brethren were dissatisfy'd about her. The Elders appointed a Meeting to hear Matters objected against her, and no Arguments in the World would hinder this Good-wife *Stafford* from going to the Lecture. She promised indeed with much ado, That she would not go to the Church-Meeting, yet she could not refrain going there also. *How's* Affairs were there so examined, that she came off rather guilty than cleared; nevertheless, Good-Wife *Stafford* could not forbear taking her by the Hand, and saying, Though you are condemned before Men, you are justify'd before God; she was quickly taken in a very strange manner, ranting, raving, raging, and crying out, Goody *How* must come into the Church; she is a precious Saint, and though she be condemned before Men, she is justify'd before God; so she continued for the Space of

two or three Hours, and then fell into a Trance. But coming to her self, she cried out, *Ha! I was mistaken*, repeating again the same Words; and being asked by the Standers by wherein; she said, I thought *Goody How* had been a precious Saint of God, but now I see she is a Witch; she hath bewitched me and my Child, and we shall never be well till we have a Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church. And *How* said afterwards, That she was very sorry to see *Stafford* mentioned at the Church-meeting. *Stafford* after this declared her self to be afflicted by the Shape of *How*, and from that Shape she endured many Miseries.

John How, Brother to the Husband of the Prisoner, testify'd, That he refusing to accompany the Prisoner to her Examination, as she desired, immediately some of his Cattle were bewitched to Death, leaping three or four Foot high, turning about, falling and dying at once; and going to cut off an Ear for a Use, which might perhaps as well have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife was taken very numb, and continued so, being full of Pain, for several Days, and not very well at this present Time; and he suspected the Prisoner to be the Cause of it.

Nehemiah Abbot testify'd, That unusual and mischievous Accidents would befall his Cattle, whenever he had any Difference with the Prisoner. Once particularly she wished his Ox choaked, and within a little while that Ox was choaked, with a Turnep in his Throat. At another Time, refusing to lend his Horse at the Request of her Daughter, the Horse was in a preternatural Manner abused. And several other odd Things of that kind were testify'd.

There came in Testimony, That one Goodwife *Sherwin*, upon some Difference with *How* was bewitched, and that she died, charging this *How* with having a Hand in her Death. And that
other

other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably mischieved, spoiled and spilled, upon displeasing of her.

The Things in themselves were trivial, but there being such a Course of them, it made them more considered. Amongst other Things *Martha Wood* gave her Testimony, that a little after her Father had been employed in gathering an Account of *How's* Conversation, they frequently lost great Quantities of Drink out of their Vessels, in such a manner as they could ascribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As also that *How* giving her some Apples, when she had eaten of them, she was taken with a very strange kind of a Maze, so that she knew not what she said or did.

There was likewise a Heap of Depositions, That one *Isaac Cummings* refusing to lend his Mare to the Husband of this *How*, the Mare was within a Day or two taken in a strange Condition. The Beast seemed much abused, being bruised as if she had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover, one using a Pipe of Tobacco for the Cure of the Beast, a blew Flame issued out of her, took hold of her Hair, and not only spread and burnt on her, but it also flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have set the Barn on Fire, and the Mare died very suddenly.

Timothy Pearly and his Wife testified, not only that unaccountable Mischiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having Differences with this Prisoner, but also that they had a Daughter destroyed by Witchcrafts, which Daughter charged *How* as the Cause of her Afflictions; and it was observed, that she would be stricken down whenever *How* was mentioned. She was frequently in danger of being thrown into the Fire, and into the Water in her strange Fits. Though her Father had corrected

her for charging *How* with bewitching her, yet as was testified by others also, she said she was sure of it, and must die standing to it. Accordingly she charged *How* to her very Death, and said, Though *How* could afflict and torment her Body, yet she could not hurt her Soul. And that the Truth of this Matter would appear, when she should be dead and gone.

Francis Lane testified, That being hired by the Husband of this *How* to get him a Parcel of Posts and Rails, this *Lane* hired *John Pearly* to assist him. This Prisoner then told *Lane* that she believed the Posts and Rails would not do, because *John Pearly* helped him; but if he had got them alone without *John Pearly's* Help, they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his Posts and Rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the Ends, though good and sound, yet they unaccountably broke off, so that *Lane* was forced to get thirty or forty more. And this Prisoner being informed of it, she said, she told him so before, because *Pearly* helped about them.

Afterwards there came in the Confessions of several other Witches who were penitent, and affirmed this *How*, to be one of those, who with them had been baptized by the Devil, in the River at *Newbury-Falls*. Before which he made them kneel down there before the Brink of the River and worship him.

*The Tryal of Martha Carrier, at the Court
of Oyer and Terminer, held at Salem
by Adjournment.*

M*Artha Carrier* was Indicted for bewitching several Persons, according to the form usual in such Cases, pleading Not Guilty to her Indictment. There were first brought in a considerable Number of bewitched Persons, who not only made the Court sensible of the horrid Witchcraft committed upon them; but also deposed, That it was *Martha Carrier*, or her Shape, that grievously tormented them, by biting, pricking, pinching and choaking of them. It was further deposed, That while this *Carrier* was upon her Examination before the Magistrates, the poor People were so tormented, that every one expected their very Death upon the Spot, but that upon the binding of *Carrier* they were eased. Moreover the Look of *Carrier* laid the afflicted People for Dead, and her Touch, if her Eye was off them, raised them again; which Things appeared also upon her Tryal. And it was testified, That upon the mentioning of some having their Necks almost twisted round by the Shape of this *Carrier*, she replied, It's no Matter though their Necks had been twisted quite off.

Before the Tryal of this Prisoner, several of her own Children had frankly and freely confessed, not only that they were Witches themselves, but that this their Mother had made them so. This Confession they made with great Shews of Repentance, and with much Demonstration of Truth. They related Place, Time and Occasion; they gave

an Account of Journies, Meetings and Mischiefs by them performed, and were very credible in what they said. Nevertheless this Evidence was not produced against the Prisoner at the Bar, in as much as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.

Benjamin Abbot gave his Testimony, That last *March* was Twelve Months, this *Carrier* was very angry with him, upon laying out some Land near her Husband's. Her Expressions in this Anger were, That she would stick as close to *Abbot* as the Bark stuck to the Tree; and that he should repent of it ere seven Years came to an end, so that *Dr. Prescot* should never cure him. These Words were heard by others besides *Abbot* himself, who also heard her say, she would hold his Nose as close to the Grindstone as ever it was held since his Name was *Abbot*. Presently after this he was taken with a Swelling in his Foot, and then with a Pain in his Side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred to a Sore, which was launced by *Dr. Prescot*, and several Gallons of Corruption ran out of it. For six Weeks it continued very bad, and then another Sore bred in the Groin, which was also launced by *Dr. Prescot*. Another Sore then bred in his Groin, which was also cut, and put him to very great Misery: He was brought to Death's Door, and so continued till *Carrier* was taken, and carried away to the Constable, from which time every Day he began to mend, and so grew better every Day, and is well ever since.

Sarah Abbot also his Wife testified, That her Husband was not only all this while afflicted in his Body, but also that strange and extraordinary and unaccountable Calamities befell his Cattle, their Death being such as they could guess at no Natural Reason for.

Allin Toothaker testified, That *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carrier*, having some Difference with him, pulled him down by the Hair of the Head. When he rose again he was going to strike at *Richard Carrier*, but fell down flat upon his back to the Ground, and had not Power to stir Hand or Foot, till he told *Carrier* he yielded, and then he saw the Shape of *Martha Carrier* go off his Breast.

This *Toothaker* had received a Wound in the Wars, and he now testified, That *Martha Carrier* told him, he should never be cured. Just before the apprehending of *Carrier* he could thrust a Knitting Needle into his Wound four Inches deep, but presently after her being seized, he was thoroughly healed.

He further testified, That when *Carrier* and he sometimes were at Variance she would clap her Hands at him, and say he should get nothing by it, whereupon he several times lost his Cattle by strange Deaths, whereof no Natural Causes could be given.

John Roger also testified, That upon the Threatning Words of this malicious *Carrier*, his Cattle would be strangely bewitched, as then was more particularly described.

Samuel Preston testified, That about two Years ago, having some Difference with *Martha Carrier*, he lost a Cow in a strange preternatural unusual Manner, and about a Month after this the said *Carrier*, having again some Difference with him, she told him, he had lately lost a Cow, and it should not be long before he lost another, which accordingly came to pass; for he had a thriving and well kept Cow, which without any known Cause quickly fell down and died.

Phebe Chandler testified, That about a Fortnight before the Apprehension of *Martha Carrier*, on a Lord's Day, whilst the Psalm was singing in the Church, this *Carrier* then took her by the Shoulder,

and shaking her, asked where she lived : she made her no Answer, though *Carrier*, who lived next Door to her Father's House, could not but know where she lived, and who she was. Quickly after this as she was several times crossing the Fields, she heard a Voice, that she took to be *Martha Carrier's*, and it seemed as if it were over her Head. The Voice told her, she should within two or three Days be poisoned ; accordingly within such a little time, one half of her Right Hand was greatly swelled, and very painful, as also part of her Face, which she could give no Account how it came. It continued very bad for some Days ; and several times since she hath had a very great Pain in her Breast, and been so seized in her Leggs, that she hath hardly been able to go. She added, That lately going well to the House of God, *Richard*, the Son of *Martha Carrier*, looked very earnestly upon her, and immediately her Hand which had formerly been poisoned, began to pain her very much, and she had a strange burning at her Stomach, but was then struck Deaf, so that she could not hear any of the Prayer or Singing till the two or three last Words of the Psalm.

One *Foster*, who confessed her own Share in the Witchcraft, for which the Prisoner stood indicted, affirmed, That she had seen the Prisoner at some of their Witch-meetings, and that it was this *Carrier* who perswaded her to be a Witch. She confessed that the Devil carried them on a Pole to a Witch-meeting, but the Pole broke, and she hanging about *Carrier's* Neck they both fell down, and she received a Hurt by the fall, whereof she was not then recovered.

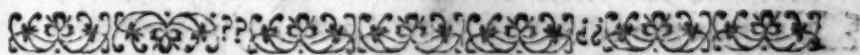
One *Lacy*, who likewise confessed her Share in the Witchcraft, now testified, That she and the Prisoner were once bodily present at a Witch-meeting, in *Salem Village* ; and that she knew the
Prisoner

Prisoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical Sacrament; and that the Prisoner was the undoing of her and her Children, by enticing them into the Devil's Snare.

Another *Lacy*, who also confessed her Share in this Witchcraft, also testified, That the Prisoner was at the Witch-meeting in *Salem Village*, where they had Bread and Wine administred to them.

In the time of this Prisoner's Tryal, one *Susanna Shelden*, in open Court, had her Hands unaccountably tied together with a Wheel-band, so fast, that without cutting, it could not be loosed: It was done by a Spectre, and the Sufferer affirmed it was the Prisoner's.

It is to be noted, That this Hag, *Martha Carrier*, was the Person, of whom the Confessions of the Witches, and of her own Children amongst the rest, agreed, That the Devil promised her, that she should be *Queen of Hell*.



C H A P. II.

Containing an Account of several Remarkable Passages and Curiosities, which attended the Witchcraft practised in this Country.

AMongst the Curiosities remarkable in the Practice of Witchcraft and Sorcery, it is very observable, what impious and impudent Imitation of Divine Things, is apishly affected by the Devil in several respects, in which the Confessions of Witches and the Afflictions of Sufferers have given us Information.

The

The Reverend Mr. *John Higginson* gave Occasion to this Reflection, that the *Indians* who came to settle about *Mexico*, were, in their Progress to that Settlement, under the Conduct of the Devil; strangely emulating what the Blessed God did to *Israel* in the Wilderness.

Acasto tells us, That the Devil in their Idol *Vitzliputzli* governed that mighty Nation. He commanded them to leave their Country, promising them to make them Lords over all the Provinces possessed by six other Nations of *Indians*, and give them a Land abounding with all pretious Things. They went forth, carrying their Idol with them in a Coffers of Reeds, supported by four of their Principal Priests, with whom he still discoursed in secret, revealing to them the Successes, and Accidents of their Way. He advised them when to march and when to stay, and without his Command they moved not. The first Thing they did, wherever they came, was to erect a Tabernacle for their false God, which they set always in the Midst of their Camp, and they placed the Ark upon an Altar. When they, tired with Pains, talked of proceeding no further in their Journey, than a certain pleasant Stage at which they were arrived; this Devil in one Night, horribly killed them that started this Talk, by pulling out their Hearts. And so they passed on till they came to *Mexico*.

The Devil which then imitated what was in the Church in the Old Testament, now amongst us, would imitate the Affairs of the Church in the New. The Witches say, That they imitate the Manner of Congregational Churches, and that they have a Baptism and a Supper, and Officers amongst them, abominably resembling those of our Lord.

But

But there are several other Things, besides these, which shew their gross and abominable Imitations, as their knocking down with a Look; their making the Afflicted rise; their Transportation through the Air; their travelling in Spirit, whilst their Body is cast into a Trance; their causing Cattle to run mad and perish; their entring their Names in a Book; their coming together from all Parts at the Sound of a Trumpet; their appearing sometimes cloathed with Light or Fire; their covering of themselves and their Instruments with Invisibility. Together with a Blasphemous Imitation of certain Things recorded about our Saviour and his Prophets, or the Saints in the Kingdom of God.

Another Thing remarkable in Witchcraft is, besides rendring themselves and their Tools invisible, the Method and Skill of applying the plastick Power, or Spirit of the World to unlawful purposes, by means of a Confederacy with evil Spirits.

How Witches come by this Power, or how Spirits are able to put it in Practice, we cannot pretend to understand. One Person who was of the Number of the bewitched, was cruelly assaulted by a Spectre, which she said run at her with a Spindle, tho' no body else in the Room could see either the Spectre or the Spindle. At last in her Misery, giving a snatch at the Spectre, she pulled the Spindle away, and it was no sooner got into her Hand, but the other People then present beheld, that it was indeed a real proper Iron Spindle belonging to a Person they knew, which though locked up very safe, was nevertheless unaccountably stole away by *Demons* to do further Mischiefs.

Another was haunted with a most abusive Spectre, which came to her, she said, with a Sheet about her. After she had undergone a great deal of Teazing,

Teazing, by the Annoyance of the Spectre, she gave a violent Snatch at the Sheet that was upon it, and tore off a Corner of it, which was presently visible in her Hand to the rest in the Room. Her Father who was then holding of her, catched that he might hold what his Daughter had so strangely seized, but the unseen Spectre had like to have pulled his Hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him; however he still held it, and kept it a considerable Time.

A Young Man delaying to procure Testimonials for his Parents, who being under Confinement on Suspicion of Witchcraft, required him to do that Service for them, was quickly pursued with odd Inconveniences. But once particularly, an Officer going to put his *Brand* on the Horns of some Cows belonging to these People, which though he had seized for some of their Debts, yet he was willing to leave in their Possession, for the Subsistence of the poor Family; this Young Man helped in holding the Cows to be thus branded. The Three first Cows he held well enough; but when the hot Brand was put upon the fourth, he winched and shrunk at such a rate that he could hold the Cow no longer. Being afterwards examined about it, he confessed, That at that very Instant when the Brand entered the Cows Horn, exactly the like Burning Brand was clapped upon his own Thigh, where he hath shewn the lasting Marks of it to such as asked to see them.

Another Thing worthy our Notice is, That the Execution of some that have lately died, hath been immediately attended with a strange Deliverance, of some that had lain for many Years in a sad Condition, under they knew not whose evil Hands; and many of the Self-murthers committed here, have been the Effects of Cruel and Bloody Witchcraft, by the Power of which, and the Force of the Devil, many poor People have been driven
into

into Despair, their Minds being puzzled with such Buzzes of Atheism and Blasphemy, as have made them even run distracted with Terrors; and some have been bowed down under such a Spirit of Infirmary, who have wonderfully recovered upon the Death of the Witches.

One *Whetford*, particularly, Ten Years ago, challenging *Bridget Bishop* with stealing of a Spoon, *Bishop* threatned her very dreadfully; and presently after *Whetford* being in her Bed in the Night, was visited by *Bishop* with one *Parker*, who making the Room light at their coming in, they discoursed of several Mischiefs they would inflict upon her. At last they pulled her out, and carried her to the Sea-side to drown her; but she calling upon God, they left her, though not without Expressions of Fury. From that very Time this *Whetford* was quite spoiled, and grew a froward, crazed Sort of a Woman, a Vexation to her self and all about her, and several Ways unreasonable. She lay in this Distraction till those Women were apprehended by Authority, and then she began to mend, and upon their Execution was presently and perfectly recovered from the ten Years Madness that had been upon her.

To this we shall add an Extract of a Letter written to the Honourable *Samuel Sewel*, Esq; by *Mr. Putman*.

THE last Night my Daughter *Anne* was grievously tormented by Witches, threatening that she should be pressed to Death before *Giles Cory*. But through the Goodness of a gracious God, she had at last a little Respite. Whereupon there appeared unto her, a Man in a Winding-Sheet, who told her, That *Giles Cory* had murdered him, by pressing him to Death with his Feet, but that the Devil then appeared to him, and covenanted with him, and promised him he should not be hanged.

The

The Apparition said, God harden'd his Heart, that he should not hearken to the Advice of the Court, and so die an easie Death, because, as it said, It must be done to him as he hath done to me. The Apparition also said, That *Giles Cory* was carried to the Court for this, and that the Jury had found the Murther, and that her Father knew the Man, and the Thing was done before she was born. Now, Sir, this is not a little strange to us, that no Body should remember these Things all the while that *Giles Cory* was in Prison, and so often before the Court. For all People now remember very well, and the Records of the Court also mention it, That about seventeen Years ago *Giles Cory* kept a Man in his House that was almost a natural Fool, which Man dy'd suddenly. A Jury was impannelled upon him, amongst whom was Dr. *Zerobabel Endicott*, who found the Man bruised to Death, and having Clodders of Blood about his Heart. The Jury, whereof several are yet alive, brought in the Man murdered; but, as if some Enchantment had hindered the Prosecution of the Matter, the Court proceeded not against *Giles Cory*, though it cost him a great deal of Money to get off.

To these we shall add some parallel and remarkable Passages relating to Witchcraft in Sweden.

In the Year 1669, at *Mobra* in Sweden, the Devils, by the Help of Witches, committed a most horrible Outrage. Amongst other Instances of Hellish Tyranny there exercised, one was, That Hundreds of their Children were usually in the Night fetched from their Lodgings to a Diabolical Rendezvous, at a Place they call *Blockula*, where the Monsters that so conveighed them, tempted them all manner of Ways to associate with them. Nay, the Growth of Witchcraft was so great, that Persons of Quality were forced to send their Children into other Countries to avoid it. And

And though the Inhabitants had earnestly sought God by Prayer, yet the Affliction continued. Whereupon Judges had a special Commission to find and root out the Hellish Crew, since another Country in the Kingdom, which had been so molested, was delivered upon the Execution of the Witches.

The Examination was begun with a Day of Humiliation appointed by Authority. Whereupon the Commissioners consulting how they might resist this Growth of Witchcraft, the suffering Children were first examined, and though they were questioned one by one apart, yet their Declarations all agreed. The Witches accused in these Declarations were then examined, and though at the first they obstinately denied, yet at length many of them ingenuously confessed the Truth of what the Children said, owning with Tears, that the Devil, whom they call'd *Locyta*, had stopped their Mouths, but he being now gone from them, they could no longer conceal the Business. The Things by them acknowledged, wonderfully agreed with what other Witches in other Places had confessed.

They confessed, That they used to call upon the Devil, who thereupon would carry them away over the Tops of Houses, to a green Meadow, where they gave themselves to him, only one of them said, That sometimes the Devil only took away her Strength, leaving her Body on the Ground, but that she went at other Times in Body too.

Their Manner was to come into the Chambers of People, and fetch away their Children upon Beasts of the Devil's providing, promising fine Cloaths, and other fine Things to them, to inveigle them. They said they never had Power to do thus but of late, but now the Devil did plague and beat them, if they did not gratifie him in this Piece of Mischief. They said they made use of all Sorts of Instruments in their journeys; of Men, of Beasts,
of

of Posts; the Men they commonly laid asleep at the Place they rode them to; and if the Children mentioned the Names of the Persons that stole them away, they were miserably scourged for it, until some of them were killed. The Judges found the Marks of the Lashes on some of them, but the Witches said they would quickly vanish. Moreover, the Children would be in strange Fits, after they were brought Home from these strange Transportations.

The first Thing they said they were to do at *Blockula*, was to give themselves to the Devil, and vow that they would serve him. Hereupon they cut their Fingers, and with Blood writ their Names in his Book. And he also caused them to be baptized by such Priests as he had in this horrid Company. In some of them the Mark of the cut Finger was to be found; they said, That the Devil gave Meat and Drink, as to them, so to the Children they brought with them; that afterwards their Custom was to dance before him, and to Swear and Curse most horribly. They said, That the Devil shewed them a great frightful Dragon, telling them, If they confessed any Thing, he would let loose that great Devil upon them. They added, That the Devil had a great Church, and that when the Judges were coming, he told them, He would kill them all, and that some of them had attempted to kill them, but could not.

Some of the Children talked much of a white Angel, which used to forbid them what the Devil bid them do, and assured them, That these Doings would not last long, but that what had been done was permitted for the Wickedness of the People. This white Angel would sometimes rescue the Children from going in with the Witches.

The Witches confessed many Mischiefs done by them, declaring with what Kind of enchanted Tools they did their Mischiefs. They thought especially

Specially to kill the Minister of *Elfdula*, but could not. But some of them said, That such as they wounded would be recovered, upon, or before their Execution.

The Judges would fain have had them shew some of their Tricks, but they unanimously declared, That since they had confessed all, they found all their Witchcraft gone, and the Devil then appeared very terrible to them, threatening them with an Iron Fork to thrust them into a burning Pit, if they persisted in their Confession.

There was no less than Threescore and ten Witches discovered in one Village, three and twenty of which freely confessing their Crimes, were condemned to die. The rest (one pretending she was with Child) were sent to *Fabluna*, where most of them were afterwards executed. Fifteen Children, who confessed themselves engaged in this Witchery, died as the rest. Six and thirty of them between Nine and Sixteen Years of Age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet, and to be lashed on their Hands once a Week, for a Year together. Twenty more, who had less Inclination to these Infernal Enterprizes, were lashed with Rods upon their Hands, for three *Sundays* together at the Church-Door. The Number of the seduced Children was about Three Hundred. This Course, together with the Weekly Prayers in all the Churches through the Kingdom, issued in the Deliverance of the Kingdom.



C H A P. III.

Containing an Account of strange Apparitions, or the Ghosts of King James; with a Conference betwixt the Ghosts of that good King, the Marques Hamilton, and George Eglisham's, Doctor of Physick, to which appeared the Ghost of the Duke of Buckingham, concerning the Death and Poysoning of King James, and the rest of them.

THIS Account being published in a Dialogue, and so short that it admits of no Contraction or Alteration, without representing it different from the Original, we shall insert it here in the same Words.

King James. Do'st thou know me, *Buckingham*; if our Spirits or Ghosts retain any Knowledge of Mortal Actions, let us discourse together.

• *Buckingham*. Honour hath not now transported me to forget your Majesty; I know you to be the Umbra or Shade of my Sovereign King James, to whom *Buckingham* was once so great a Favourite; but what Ghost is that, which bears you Company, his pale Looks shew him to be some Scholar.

King James. It is the changed Shadow of *George Eglisham*, for ten Years together my Doctor of Physick, who in the Discharge of his Place was ever
to

to me most faithful; this other is his and my old Friend Marquess Hamilton.

Buckingham. My Liege, I cannot discourse as long as they are present, they behold me with such threatening Looks, and your Majesty hath a disturbed Brow, as if you were offended with your Servant *Buckingham*.

King James. I and the Marquess *Hamilton* have just Cause to frown, and to be offended. Hast thou not been our most ungrateful Murtherers.

Buck. Who, I my Liege? What Act of mine could make you suspect, that I could do a Deed so full of Horror, produce a Witness to my Face, before you condemn me upon bare Suspicion.

King James. My Dr. *Eglisbam* will prove it to thy Face; and if thou hast but any Sense of Goodness, shall make thy pale Ghost blush, ungrateful *Buckingham*.

Buckingham. I defie all such Votes and false Accusations; If I had been so wicked, why was not I when living brought to Trial, and sacrificed to Justice?

King James. A Petition was drawn by my Dr. *George Eglisbam*, wherein he most lovingly amplify'd the Ingratitude of thee my Favourite *Buckingham*, in Poisoning me his Sovereign, which he then presented to my Son *King Charles*, and to the Parliament, (for he had vowed to revenge our Deaths) but they taking no Course for the Examination of the Guiltiness, by Reason of thy Plot which dissolved that Parliament, Dr. *Eglisbam* was fain to go over into *Holland* to avoid the Fury of thy Malice.

Marq. Hamilton. Nay, he discovered thee *George Villers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, to have committed two Eminent Murthers, namely, of the King's Majesty, and of me the Lord Marquess *Hamilton*, for all thy Subtlety in thy Poysoning Art, God hath on Earth manifested thee to be the Author of our Deaths.

Buckingham

Buckingham. Were we living thou durst not use this Language, thy Words are false; who dare appear to prove what thou did'st speak?

Dr. Eglisham. I *Dr. Eglisham*, as I did once accuse thee unto the King and Parliament, and to the whole World, so I affirm again, that thou did'st poyson King *James* and Marquess *Hamilton*; and first I will prove the Murther of Marquess *Hamilton*, who died first.

Buckingham. I stand without all Fear, and dare thee, base Doctor, to speak even all thy Malice can invent against me.

Dr. Eglisham. Then know, *Buckingham*, that being raised from mean Blood to Honour, and therefore extream proud, thou had'st an Ambition to match thy Niece with the Marquess's eldest Son, and the Bride should have had Fifty thousand Pounds for her Portion.

Buckingham. But what is this to the Matter of Poysoning the Marquess.

Eglisham. Yes, thy Niece being unequal in Degree to the Marquess's Son, the Marquess thrice refused the Offer of such a Marriage, but at last, hoping some Way might be found to annul it before it should be confirmed, he yielded unto the King's Desire of the Match, and at *Greenwich*, before the King, it was concluded; and you, *Buckingham*, caused your Niece to be laid in Bed with the Marquess's Son, in the King's Chamber, the Bride being unfit, and not Marriageable. Afterwards, the Marquess having sent his Son into *France* to prevent the Confirmation of the Marriage and your Niece growing Marriageable, and the Confirmation of the Marriage, by you desired, the Marquess answered her, since the Motion, which caused a deadly Quarrel betwixt you and the Marquess, often reconciled, and often breaking out again.

Buckingham. It may be I was offended, but I sought no base Revenge.

Eglisham.

Eglisbam. That shall appear hereafter. The Mar-
queſs of *Hamilton*, after this Quarrel happened be-
twixt you, fell Sick, and you, whom King *James*
knew to be vindicative, had occasioned this his
Sickneſs, and afterwards his Death by Poyſon.

Marq. I could not endure that thou ſhould come
near me, *Buckingham*, in my Sickneſs.

Buckingham. But I was ſtill deſirous to viſit you
in your Sickneſs, though this Urinal-Observer,
Dr. *Eglisbam* kept me away.

Eglisbam. I knew your Viſitation proceeded from
Diſſimulation, but to haſten to the end of my Ac-
cuſation, you *Buckingham*, and my Lord *Denby*,
would not all the Time of his Sickneſs ſuffer his
Son to come near him, leaſt my Lord Marqueſs
ſhould adviſe him not to marry *Buckingham's* Niece.
Matters being thus ſuſpiciouſly carry'd, my Lord
Marqueſs deceaſed, and you *Buckingham* would have
him buried that Night in *Weſtmiſter* Church.
When he was dead, his Body was ſwell'd to a ſtrange
and monſtrous Proportion. I deſired his Body
might be viewed by Phyſicians, but you *Bucking-
ham* being guilty, endeavour'd to hinder it; but
view him they did, and all the Phyſicians acknow-
ledged that he was poiſoned; and after he was dead,
you *Buckingham* ſent my Lord Marqueſs's Son out of
Town, made a diſſembling Shew of Mourning for
his Death, and a Noiſe was ſpread of Poiſoning
Buckingham's Adverſaries, and the Poiſon-Monger,
or Mountebank, was graced by *Buckingham*; all
which are ſufficient Grounds to prove you guilty
of Marqueſs *Hamilton's* Death. Now I will alſo de-
clare thee to be a Traitor in Poiſoning my Sove-
reign King *James*.

Buckingham. Speak what thou canſt, and add
more Lyes to this Relation, I will not answer thee
until the End.

King

King *James*. Was *Buckingham* the Author of my Death? I would have thought those Heavenly Effences called Angels might have been sooner corrupted than *Buckingham*. Was he my Poisoner?

Eglisb. He was, my Liege, for *Buckingham* being advertised that your Majesty had by Letters Intelligence of his bad Behaviour in *Spain*, and that your Affection towards him was by that grown somewhat colder, *Buckingham* after his coming from *Spain*, said, That the King being grown old, it was fit he should resign all Government and let the Prince be crowned.

King *James*. Didst thou desire the Death of thy aged Prince? I could not have lived long by Nature's Course, Must Poison needs dispatch me? But proceed *Eglisb*, give us the Circumstances briefly how, and what manner I was poisoned by *Buckingham*.

Eglisb. Then thus my Liege, Your Highness being sick of an Ague, and in the Spring, which is no deadly Disease, *Buckingham* when your Doctors of Physick were at Dinner, on the Monday before your Death, offered you a White Powder to take, you refused it, but after his much Importunity took it, and thereupon you grew extream Sick, crying out against that White Powder and the Countess of *Buckingham*. *Buckingham's* Mother applied a Plaister to the King's Heart and Breast, whereby all the Physitians said that he was poisoned; but *Buckingham* threatned the Physitians and quarrelled with them, and *Buckingham's* Mother fell down on her Knees, and desired Justice against those that had said that her Son and She had poisoned Your Majesty. Poisoned me! said you, and with that you turned your self, King *James* swooned and died.

Buckingham as before made a dissembling Shew, that he was so sorry for the King's Death, which was nothing so, for he was not moved at all, either

ther in his Sickness, nor after his Death. To conclude, the Dead Body of King *James*, like as Marquess *Hamilton's* swelled up, their Hair came off, their Nails became loose, now therefore upon these Proofs in the Presence of the King and Marquess confess thy self Guilty, for *Buckingham* thou wert both a Murderer and a Traytor.

King *James. Buckingham*, What canst thou alledge for thy self, Did not I end many Differences and Jealousies betwixt my Son *Charles* and thee, and compose many Fractions? Did not I, when ill Language issued from thee, so that Blows were struck and Swords drawn in my Presence to the hazard of thy Life, cry, Save my *George*, save my *George*: Did not I love thee as if thou hadst been my only Son? Made thee from low Degree Rise so fast, that thy sudden growth in Honour was envied at Court? Hadst thou poisoned some other Man, thy Soul had not been half so black or foul; thou might have been compelled to it by Envy, or transported by some cruel Passion, or urged by jealous Fears to make away thy Enemy; but to kill him that was thy Gracious Prince, whose Favour had created thee Duke, and gave thee Honours far above Desert, it was the highest Step of base Ingratitude. O *Buckingham*, go and lament thy Sins, and here to ease thy troubled Mind confess unto me, Didst thou Poison thy Master King *James*, shew me why and for what Reason thou didst it.

Buck. First your Majesty began to decline your wonted Affection to me, and likewise to be very jealous of all my Actions and Sayings. Secondly, your Majesty was stricken in Years, and grew intemperate and a Burthen to your self and your People, and they sick of an old Government and desiring a new Change. Thirdly, had I not undertaken it, I could not have stood a Favourite to a succeeding King, nor been so eminent in Court.

D

King

King *James*. Who were Actors besides thy self in this Hellish Plot?

Buck. Many more besides my self whom I dare not reveal as yet, but Time shall produce them, and their foul Actions. Sir, I desire your Pardon, I did contrive your Death by Poison, but I have paid full Justice for it since; my Conscience hath been my Judge and my Executioner.

King *James*. Let Princes learn from thee, never to trust a Favourite; But what dost thou answer to the Poisoning of Marquess *Hamilton*?

Buck. This Dr. *Eglisbam* hath spoke all Truth, and proved by many Circumstances that I procured his Death by Poison; I know that I am guilty, but cannot more be punished; Furies of Conscience torment my Soul, and I have no hopes of ease until you seal my Pardon, and say you can forgive me, for I *George Duke of Buckingham* poisoned King *James* and Marquess *Hamilton*.

Eglisbam. And lastly, for fear that I *George Eglisbam* should discover you as I have now done to be the Poisoner, I was sought to be murdered, but I fled into *Holland*; and there by your Appointment I was stabbed and killed.

Buck. I do acknowledge, that my mortal Hatred unto thee was great, and I acknowledge my self guilty of thy Death too, Dr. *Eglisbam*.

King *James*. Then *Buckingham* thou was to me an ingrateful Traytor.

Marq. *Hamilton*. To me a cunning and dissembling Poisoner.

Buck. I suffer for it now, for Heaven is just; farewell, I'll go and weep for Grief.



C H A P. IV.

Containing a Narrative of the Sorceries and Witchcrafts, exercised by the Devil and his Instruments upon Mrs. Christian Shaw, Daughter of Mr. John Shaw of Bargarran, in the County of Renfrew, in the West of Scotland; shewing the Journal of her sufferings as it was exhibited and proved by the voluntary Confession of some of the Witches, and other unquestionable Evidence, before the Commissioners appointed by the Privy Council of Scotland to enquire into the same; Collected from Records. Together with Reflections upon Witchcraft in General, and the Learned Arguments of Lawyers on both sides, at the Tryal of seven of those Witches, who were Condemned, and some Passages which happened at their Execution.

ABout the End of *August*, One Thousand six hundred and Ninety six, *Christian Shaw*, Daughter to *John Shaw* of *Bargarran*, Gent. in the Parish of *Erskine* and County of *Renfrew*, a smart, lively, and well inclined Girl, about Eleven Years of Age, perceiving one of the Maids of the House named

Catherine Campbel, to steal some Milk, she told her Mother of it, upon which the said Maid (being a Young Woman of a proud and revengeful Temper, and much addicted to Cursing, Swearing and Purloining) did, in a mighty Rage, imprecate the Curse of God three times upon the Child; and at the same time thrice uttered these horrid Words, *The Devil drag your Soul through Hell*. This was done on *Monday, August 17*, in presence of several Witnesses, who afterwards gave Evidence of it.

On the *Friday* following being the Twenty first of *August*, about Sun-rising, one *Agnes Naismith*, an old ignorant Woman, of a malicious Disposition, addicted to Threatnings (which sometimes were observed to be followed with fatal Events) came to *Bargarran's* House, where finding *Christian Shaw* in the Court with her Younger Sister, she asked how the Lady and the young Child did, and how old the Young sucking Child was? To which *Christian* replied, What do I know? Then *Agnes* asked, How she her self did, and how old she was? to which she answered, That she was well, and in the Eleventh Year of her Age.

On the *Saturday* Night after, being the Twenty second of *August*, the said *Christian Shaw* went to Bed in good Health, but as soon as she fell asleep, began to struggle and cry, Help, Help; and then suddenly got up, and flew over the Top of the Bed where she lay, to the great Astonishment of her Parents and the rest in the Room, which was with so much force, that probably her Brains might have been dashed out, if a Woman providentially standing by, had not broke the Force of the Child's Motion. She was afterwards laid in another Bed, and remained stiff and insensible as if she had been dead, for the Space of half an Hour, and for Forty eight Hours after could not sleep, crying out of violent Pains throughout her whole Body, and no sooner began to sleep or

turn.

turn drowſie, but ſeemed greatly afrighted, crying ſtill, Help, help.

After this a Pain fixed in her Left-ſide, and her Body was often ſo bent and ſtiff, that ſhe ſtood like a Bow on her Neck and Feet at once, and continued without being able to ſpeak for Eight Days, excepting ſome very ſhort Intervals; during which Time ſhe had ſcarce half an Hour's Inter-miſſion together, the Fits taking her ſuddenly, and coming on and going off with a Swoon or ſhort *Deliquium*, but ſhe appeared perfectly well and ſenſible betwixt whiles.

About the Middle of *September* her Fits returned, in a Manner different from the former, wherein ſhe ſeemed to fight and ſtruggle with ſomething that was inviſible to the Spectators; and her Actions appeared as if ſhe had been defending her ſelf from ſome who were aſſaulting her, or endeavouring to hurt her, and that with ſuch Force, that four ſtrong Men were ſcarce able to hold her; and when any of the People preſent touched any Part of her Body, ſhe cried out with ſuch Vehemence, as if they had been killing her, but could not ſpeak.

When ſhe was ſeized with thoſe Fits, her Parents ſent to *Paſſy*, for *John White* an Apothecary, and afterwards for *Dr. Johnſton*, who ordered her to be let Blood, and applied ſeveral Things to her without any diſcernible Effect. All the while ſhe had theſe latter Fits, ſhe was afflicted with extraordinary Riſings and Fallings in her Belly, like the Motion of a Pair of Bellows, and with ſuch ſtrange movings of her Body, as made the Bed to ſhake under her.

Some Days after ſhe was able to ſpeak, during her Fits, and cried, That *Catherine Campbell* and *Agnes Naiſmith* were cutting her Side and other Parts of her Body, which were at that time violently tormented. And when the Fit was over

she still asserted, that she had seen those Persons doing the Things which she complained of in her Fits; (it being observable that in the Intervals she was as well and sensible as ever) and could not believe but that other Persons present, saw them as well as she. In this Condition she continued without any considerable Variation, either as to the Fits or Intervals for about a Month.

After this she was carried to *Glasgow*, where Dr. *Brisbane* an able Physitian, ordered Mr. *Henry Marshal* an Apothecary to prepare Medicines for her; so that having staid in *Glasgow* about ten Days, she was brought home to her Father, and had about a Fortnight's Intermission. But then her Fits returned, and with this Difference, that she knew when they were coming by a Pain in her Left-side. In these Fits her Throat was prodigiously drawn down towards her Breast, and her Tongue back into her Throat, her whole Body becoming stiff and extended as a dead Corps, without Sense or Motion; and sometimes her Tongue was drawn out of her Mouth over her Chin, to a wonderful Length, her Teeth closing so fast upon it, that those about her were forced to thrust something betwixt to save her Tongue. And it was often observed, that her Tongue was thus tortured when she attempted to pray. In this Condition she was for some time, with sensible Intervals, in which she had perfect Health, and could give a full Account of what she was heard to express whilst she was in her Fits. Her Parents resolved to carry her again to *Glasgow*, for the greater Conveniency of being under the Doctor's Inspection and Care, and for the further Discovering the Nature of her Distemper, and making use of the most probable natural Medicines. But being on her Way thither, in her Grandmother's House at *Northban*, she thrust or spit out
of

of her Mouth Parcels of Hair, some curled, some platted, some knotted, of different Colours and in considerable Quantities. And thus she continued to do, with several fainting Fits every Quarter of an Hour, both in her passage to *Glasgow*, *November 12.* and after she arrived there, for the Space of three Days; then from *Monday* to *Thursday* following, she put out of her Mouth Coal-cinders, about the Bigness of Chesnuts, some of them so hot, that they could scarcely be handled, as *Dr. Brisbane* witnesses in his Attestation. Then for the Space of two Days in her Swooning Fits, there came out of her Mouth great Numbers of Straws, by one at a time, folded up, but when out, returned to their natural Shape; and it was observable, that in one of them there was a Pin. After this Bones of several Shapes and Sizes issued out of her Mouth, and then some small Sticks of Candle-fir (a sort of Fir in that Country which burns like a Candle) one of them about three or four Inches long; which when any of them attempted to pull out, they found them either held by her Teeth fixed upon them, or forceably drawn back into her Throat, particularly *Archibald Bannatine*, of *Helle Junior*, observing a Bone in her Mouth like that of a Duck's Leg, and trying to pull it out, he declared he found something drawing it back into her Throat, so that it required a great deal of Strength to pull it out. It is to be observed, that hitherto she knew not how these Things were brought into her Mouth, and when they were pulled out, she immediately recovered of her Fit for that time. After this there came out of her Mouth some Quantity of Hay, intermixed with Dung as if it had been taken out of a Dunghill, which stunk so, that the Girl could not endure the Taste and smell of it, but was forced to wash her Mouth with Water.

Then for a Day's Space, she put out of her Mouth a great Quantity of Feathers of Wild Fowl; after that a Stone, which in Judgment of Beholders, had been passed by some Person in a Fit of the Stone, with some small white Stones, and a whole Nutgall (with which they use to dye Cloaths and make Ink) also Lumps of Candle-grease and Egg-shells; of all which there were many Witnesses.

When the Sticks abovementioned came out of her Mouth, she foretold that she was to be grievously tormented with sore Fits that Night, which accordingly fell out; for a little after she fell into a Swoon, wherein she had no Use of her Senses, and though the Spectators called to her aloud and moved her Body, and Mr. *Bannatine* abovenamed gave her a severe Pinch in the Arm, she was not sensible of it. After she recovered from the Swoon, but continuing in the Fit, she began to talk to *Catherine Campbell* after this manner, Thou sits there with a Stick in thy Hand to put into my Mouth, but through God's Strength thou shalt not get Leave. Thou art permitted to torment me, but I trust in God, thou shalt never get my Life, though it is my Life thou designest. And calling for a Bible and Candle said, Come near me *Kate*, and I will let thee see where a Godly Man was given up to Satan to be tormented, but God kept his Life in his own Hand; and so I trust in God, thou shalt never get my Life, and all that thou shalt be permitted to do unto me, I hope through God's Mercy, shall turn to my Advantage. This Man was robbed of all, and tormented in Body, and had nothing left him but an ill Wife. Come near me *Kate*, and I will read it to thee; and reading that Passage of *Job*, when she came to the Place where she said, Curse God and die, the Damsel considering these Words a little, said, O! what a Wife was this, that bid her Husband curse God and die! She who should have been a Comfort to him in his
Trouble,

Trouble, turned a Cross to him. Then, after reading the Chapter through to the End, she looked towards the Feet of the Bed, and said, Now *Kate*, what thinks thou of that? Thou seest, for all the Power the Devil got over *Job*, he gained no Ground on him, and I hope he shall gain as little on me. Thy Master, the Devil deceives thee, he is a bad Master whom thou serveest, and thou shalt find it to thy Sorrow, except thou repentest; there is no Repentance after Death. I'll let thee see *Kate*, there is no Repentance in Hell. And looking over the Book, and citing *Luke Chap. 16.* near the latter End, and reading the same said, *Kate*, thou seest there is no Repentance in Hell, for the Rich Man besought *Abraham* to testifie to his five Brethren, that they come not to the Place of Torment where he was; but repent and turn to the Lord; for there was no getting out if once they came there. Now *Kate*, thou hearest this, what think'st thou of it? I'll let thee hear another Place which should pierce thy Heart. And turning over the Book, she said she would read about *Adam* and *Eve*; thou knowest *Kate*, the Serpent (the Devil thy Master) thought to have ruined Mankind in the Beginning, his Malice was so great at that Blessed State, wherein they were, seeing himself cast down from all Hopes of Mercy, he used all Means possible to subvert their Happiness, by suggesting to them fair Promises, and a Prospect of Advantage in causing them to eat of that forbidden Fruit, and were made subject to God's Curse for ever. But God did not suffer them to remain in this Condition, but of his Infinite Mercy shewed to them a better Way, whereby they might have Eternal Life, by revealing to them that blessed Promise, *The Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Head of the Serpent.* Now *Kate*, what think'st thou of that Promise? But observe this, thou wilt get no Advantage by it, it is not made to thee, who hast renounced God's Ser-

vice, and lifted thy self under the Devil; thou art his Slave; I know thou deniest this; but I know thou art a Hypocrite; for I remember when thou wast in my Mother's House, thou boughtest a Catechism, with a Pretence to learn to read, to cloak thy Sin. Wilt thou hear me, knowest thou the Reward of the Hypocrite? I'll let thee hear it; I remember Mr. *William Gillies*, was Lecturing the other Day, upon the 23d of *Matthew*, where many a Woe is pronouced against the Hypocrite; Eight dreadful Woes *Kate*, and some of them belongs to thee; but I'll tell thee more, knowest thou the Reward of the Hypocrite, they shall be cast into the Lake that burns for ever, that's their Portion; Dost thou hear this now? Thou turnest thy Back to me, when I am telling thee the Truth; If I were reading a Story Book, or telling a Tale to thee, thou wouldst hear that. Remember it will be thy Portion too, if thou do not repent and confess and seek Mercy. Again, turning over the Book, she read about *Pilate*; saying, *Pilate* he made a Shew of cleansing himself from Christ's Blood, he washed his Hands and declared himself innocent; but for all his washing, he had a foul Heart, he would not lose his Office for the saving of Christ's Life; he knew well enough that Christ was an innocent Person, but he preferred his Honour before Christ; therefore to please the *Jews*, and to quench the Struggling in his Conscience, he washed his Hands, and then delivered Christ to be crucified by them. Thus she continued for more than two Hours Space, reasoning at this rate, and exhorting her to repent, quoring many Places in Scripture, in the *Revelations* and the *Evangelists*. And when any one offered to take her Bible from her, she uttered dreadful Shrieks and Out-cries; saying, She would never part with her Bible as long as she lived, she would keep it in spite of all the Devils.

Before we pass from this it will be necessary to
give

give the Reader notice of some few Things worthy Observation ; as, First, That while she called for her Bible and a Candle, she neither heard nor saw any of those Persons, who were then actually and discernibly present in the Room with her, and that *Catherine Campbel*, to whom she directed her Speech, was not discernibly present to any Body but her self. And the Pinch Mr. *Bannatine* gave her in her insensible Fit, she complained of afterwards, but knew not how she came by it, nor did she blame any of her Tormenters for it. Secondly, That these Words set down as spoke by her, were the very same both for Words and Order, as nearly as they could be gathered and remembered by the Hearers, without any Addition of their own. Thirdly, That although she was a Girl of a pregnant Spirit above her Age, knew more of the Scriptures and had a good Understanding, above what might be expected of one of her Years, of the fundamental Principles of Religion ; yet we doubt not but in so strong a Combat, the Lord did by his good Spirit graciously afford her a more than ordinary Measure of Assistance.

Some time after the Trash above mentioned issued out of her Mouth she fell into extream violent Fits, with lamentable Outcries, four Persons being hardly able to hinder her from climbing up the Walls of the Chamber, or from doing her self Hurt ; in the mean time she had no Power to speak, her Back and the rest of her Body was grievously pained, and in this Condition she continued four or five Days with the usual Intervals. During which she declared, That four Men, *Alexander* and *James Anderson*, and other two (of whom she gave particular and exact Marks, but knew not their Names) were tormenting her. It was observed that many of those she named were known to be Persons of ill Fame, as were these two Persons last mentioned. It is also remarkable, that

that for sometime she knew not the Name of the said *Alexander Anderson*, till one Day he came a begging to the Door of the House where she was, then immediately she cried out, That was he whom she had seen amongst the Crew.

After this she fell into other Fits, wherein she saw the Persons before named with some others, and heard and saw several Things that pass'd amongst them. Particularly she sometimes foretold when she was to have the Fits, and how often she should have them, which fell out accordingly.

About the eighth of *December* being brought home from *Glasgow*, and having had six or seven Days Respite from her Fits, she fell into a frightful and terrible Relapse; the Occasion whereof she declared to be, her seeing the Devil in prodigious and horrid Shapes, threatening to devour her, she would fall down dead and become stiff, with all the Parts of her Body stretched out, like a Corps without Sense or Motion; these Fits came suddenly without her Knowledge, and she did as suddenly recover and grow perfectly well; and they usually came on her when she offered to pray. Sometimes she knew when the other Fits were a coming; how long they would continue, and when they would return. In which Fits her Eyes altered strangely, and turned in her Head, to the Admiration of the Beholders, with a continual Pain about her Heart; sometimes her Joints were contracted together, and her Forehead drawn forcibly about towards her Shoulders; these Fits she took by falling into a Swoon, and would instantly recover in the same manner.

During this time her Fits altered again, as to their Times of coming and Continuance, in which time she sometimes endeavoured to bite her own Fingers, or any thing else that came in her way; she did the like when she saw the Persons before mentioned, or any one of them about her; she would

would point out to the People about her where they were, but they could not see them; and sometimes she declared, that she had Hold of them by their Cloaths. Particularly the Seventeenth of *December*, being in a severe Fit, she cried out of several Persons that were tormenting her, and being in the Bed, grasped with her Hands towards the Foot of it, and cried out, that she had catched hold of the Sleeves of one G. P's Jerkin or Jacket, which was as she said, ragged at the Elbows; and at that very time, her Mother and Aunt heard the Sound of the rending or tearing of a Cloth, but saw nothing, only they found in each of the Girl's Hands a bit of Red Cloth, which looked as if it had been torn off of a Garment, of which kind of Cloth there was none in the Room, nor in any Part of the House. At the same time she told them, there was such a one among the Crew going to pinch her Tongue, which was thereupon instantly pulled back into her Throat, and she lay Dumb for a considerable time. Sometime after her Recovery from her Fits, she told that she heard several Things spoke by her Tormentors, but durst not make them known, because they threatned to torment her more if she did; and accordingly, when her Mother, or others prevailed with her to tell them any thing, she was instantly tormented. She added, That her Tormentors appeared to her with Lights, and strange sorts of Candles, which were frightful to look on.

Thus she continued till the first of *January*, in such Fits as were before mentioned, with some Alterations, and had likewise other swooning Fits, wherein she continued for Two or Three Hours together, sometimes more, sometimes less, with very short Intervals, in which Fits she did not complain much of Pain, but had a great Palpitation in her Breast, and sometimes strange and unaccountable Motions in other Parts of her Body, which

which continued, in a greater or less degree, during the whole time of the Fit, wherein she was light-headed, and not so solid in her Mind as at other times; though in the Intervals of these, as of all other Fits, she was composed enough; and these Fits, as all the rest, came suddenly on, and went as suddenly off by a Swoon.

Before we proceed any further, it is fit to observe, *First*, That *Agnes Naismith*, before mentioned, being brought by the Parents a second time to see the Girl, did (without being desired) pray that the Lord God of Heaven and Earth might send the Damsel her Health, and discover the Truth. After which the Child declared, that though the said *Agnes* had formerly been very troublesome to her, yet from that time forwards, she did no more appear to her, as her Tormenter; but as she thought defended her from the Fury of the rest. *Secondly*, That *Catherine Campbel* before-mentioned, could by no means be prevailed on to pray for the Damsel; but on the contrary, cursed them and all the Family of *Bargarran*, and particularly the Girl, and all that belonged to her, with this grievous Imprecation, The Devil let her never grow better, nor any concerned in her, be in a better Condition than she was in, for what they had done to her: Which Words she spoke before several credible Witnesses. *Thirdly*, That *Bargarran* having prevailed with the Under Sheriff, to Imprison the said *Catherine Campbel*, she never after appeared to the Child, (though formerly she was one of her most violent Tormenters) except once or twice, when it was found upon Enquiry, that she was not in the Prison, but either in the Jaylor's House, or when she had Liberty to go to Church. *Fourthly*, That at the same time when the Child voided at her Mouth the Hair and other Trash above-mentioned, *Catherine Campbel* being taken into Custody, there was found in her Pocket a Ball
of

of Hair of several Colours, which being thrown into the Fire, the Child from that time forward vomited no more Hair; she declared, that she heard her Tormenters say, That *Catherine Campbel* made the Ball, of the Hair cut off of Christian's Head, when the Trouble was first inflicted on her.

Upon the first of *January*, about Ten a Clock at Night she swooned, and fell into Fits different from the former; so that after her Swooning was over she lay still, as if she had been dead; yet at the same time she was heard talking mournfully with a low Voice, and repeating several Stories in Metre, which they thought to be an Account of the Rise and Progress of her own Troubles, and thus she continued, naming several of the fore-mentioned Persons at times, till her Parents and others offered to rouse her, by touching and moving her Body; whereupon she uttered horrid Schreetches, and cried as if she had been pierced through with Swords, and assaulted for her Life. After this she fell a Singing, Leaping and Dancing for a long time, Laughing with a loud Voice in an unusual manner, tearing down the Hangings of the Bed, and pulling off her Head-Cloaths, in which Extravagancies she acted with such Force and Strength, that her Father and the Minister, though joining with their whole Strength, could not hinder her from Dancing and Leaping. But after Prayer, the Minister finding her composed, enquired if she remembered what she had done, in the time of the Fit; to which she answered, That she distinctly remembered her Miscarriages, and particularly her Singing and Dancing; adding, that the Witches inclosed her in a Ring; and that their Dancing and Singing about her, was the Occasion of her Dancing, which she then gladly performed with the rest. For some Days after, she had Fits much after the same manner

ner, with some small Variation: In one of them she tore off her Head-Cloaths, and would have stripped her self of all her Cloaths, if she had been permitted.

About the Eleventh of *January*, she fell into Fits different from the former, in which she was carried away from her Parents, and others that were about her with a sudden Flight; and the first time, to their great Amazement, through the Chamber and Hall, down a long winding Stairs towards the Tower-Gate, with such a swift and unaccountable Motion, that it was not in the Power of any to prevent her; her Feet did not touch the Ground, so far as any Body was able to discern, and as she went she was heard to laugh in an unusual manner: But by Divine Providence the Gate being shut, her Motion was stopped, till such time as one of the Family could overtake her, who endeavouring to carry her back, she immediately fell down, and became as stiff as a dead Corps, and being brought back to her Chamber, lay so for a considerable time. Upon her Recovery she declared, That there were about Nine or Ten Persons who carried her away as if she had been in a Swing, wherein she then took Pleasure, her Feet not at all touching the Ground to her Apprehension.

The Night following she was suddenly carried away as before, from her Parents and others, thro' the Chamber and Hall, and Sixteen large Steps of a winding Stair toward the Top of the House, where she met with Apparitions of strange and unaccountable Things; but was carried down again as she thought in a Swing, by six Women and four Men towards the Gate, where she was found, and thence carried up as formerly, with all the Parts of her Body distended, and stiff like one dead. She lay so for some time, and when recovered, declared, That both then and before, she had endeavoured

voured to open the Gate, and that those she saw about her helped her, with a design to get her to the Court and drown her in the Well, which she heard them say, they intended to do, and that then the World would believe she had drowned her self. It is observable, that in one of these Fits afterwards, she was stopped at the Gate, though it was not bolted or locked; yet the Providence of God ordered it so, that neither she nor her Tormenters could open it, so that they left her there as usual.

Before we proceed further, it is fit to take Notice, That as soon as the Girl's Affliction was observed to be extraordinary and preternatural, there was (besides former private Prayers and Fasts by the Family) at the Desire of the Parents and Minister of the Parish, and by the Presbytery's Special Order, a Minister or two appointed to meet one Day every Week to join with the Family, the Minister of the Parish and other good Christians in the Neighbourhood in Fasting and Prayer. And on the Twelfth of *January*, it being the Turn of *Mr. Patrick Simson*, a Neighbouring Minister to be there; when he came, he found the Minister of the Parish, and the other, who was to join with him, absent upon necessary Occasions, yet resolved to carry on the Work with Three Elders, and some other good People that were present. When he first saw the Girl, he found her under some lesser Fits, which came and went off quickly; she was sober and quiet in the time of Prayer, but when they sung the Ninety third Psalm, she fell into a very severe Fit of longer continuance, first laughing, then making a Noise like Singing; after that pulling her Head-Cloaths over her Face, and turning so outrageous at the last in her Motions, that her Father could scarce hold her till the Fit abated. After her Fit she was quiet and composed all the Time of Prayer; and whilst the Minister

nister lectured on the Ninth of *Mark*, from v. 14 to the 30th, was very attentive, carefully looking for the Scriptures quoted, and so continued till the religious Exercise ended, and sometimes after, when she acquainted the Company that she had something to tell, which she heard some amongst her Tormenters say, but durst not reveal it; upon which the Minister and her Mother urged her to be free, and not obey the Devil; but before she got a Sentence fully pronounced, in her Mother's Ear, she fell into a violent Fit, so that her Mother and others could scarce hold her, till the Violence of it began to abate, and then her Mother told the Company, that she was speaking of a Meeting, and a Feast her Tormenters had spoken of in *Bargarran's Orchard*, but was able to say no more. After her Recovery her Mother desired her to tell the rest of it, and she began again to whisper in her Ear; but could not get one Word uttered, till she was seized again with another Fit, as violent as the former; whereupon the Minister desired them to forbear troubling her any further. But it was observed afterwards, that *Elizabeth Anderson*, *James Lindsay*, and *Thomas Lindsay*, Three of those that tormented her, confessed that they and others had a Meeting in the Orchard at that time, though neither of them knew what the Girl had said, or what the others had confessed concerning it.

A little after this, she was again suddenly carried from them down a Pair of Stairs, which goes off from the Corner of the Chamber to a Cellar, just below it, where her Brother and Sister were providentially gone before, to bring some Drink, with a lighted Candle, which she soon put out: But they crying, and holding her by the Head-Cloaths, quickly discovered to the rest where she was. Upon which *Mr. Alexander King*, Minister of *Bonnill*, made haste down Stairs, where her Brother

ther and Sister had lost their Hold of her; but Mr. King having got Hold of her again, kept her in his Arms till another Candle was brought, and endeavouring to bring her up Stairs, declared that he perceived something forcibly drawing her downwards; but still keeping his Hold, she fell as one dead upon the Stairs, and being carried up and laid in Bed, she lay so for a considerable time. When recovered from her Fit, she declared, That the Occasion of her going forcibly down Stairs, was, that the Crew had suggested to her whilst she was light-headed, that the Devil was in the Meal-Chest in the Cellar, and that if she would go down and put out the Candle, she might force him out of it. When some Fits of this kind were ready to seize her, she now and then gave Notice thereof to those that were present, and earnestly desired their Help to prevent her Motion, which usually proved to be of good Effect, wherein the Divine Mercy is toward her much to be observed.

When she was in these flying Fits, she used to utter horrid Shrieks and Cries, not like those of Rational Creatures; and Three or Four Nights together, when she was asleep in Bed, there were heard Shrieks and Cries of the same kind in the Court, when none of the Family was without Doors, which very much frightened those that heard them, because they exactly resembled the Shrieks and Cries the Girl used to utter when she was in her Fits; and in one of her Intervals, hearing the Family talk of those Cries and Shrieks, and affirming they were uttered by some Wild Beast or another, she told them they were mistaken, for it was *Margaret*, and two other of the Name of *Margats*, called by their Crew their *Moggi's*, that made those Shrieks, the Devil having promised them at that time to carry her out of the House, that they might drown her in the Well,

Well, where there were Eighteen more waiting for her.

After this she fell into fretting and angry Fits, in which she was cross to all those about her, nothing they said or did proving to her Satisfaction; but when restored to a right Composure of Mind, she declared that her Tormenters still suggested to her, and advised her to go to such and such remote Places of the House alone, and bring with her a String or Cravat, or some such Thing, promising her Almonds and other sweet things, and bid her bring her Apron with her to hold them in; and accordingly when she was seized again with Fits of this Nature, she did resolutely endeavour to repair to those Places with a String, Cravat and Apron, and would suffer none to be in her Company, which put her Parents, and others under a necessity of detaining her by force, and being thus prevented she would Shriek and Cry hideously.

On *Thursday*, the Fourteenth of *January*, at Night a young Girl appeared to her with a scabbed Face; amongst the rest of her Tormenters, telling her she was to come to the House to Morrow about Ten a Clock, and forbidding her to reveal it.

The next Day in the Afternoon the Young Girl earnestly enquired of her Mother and the rest of the Family, what Beggars had come to the Gate that Day, and of what Countenance and Visage they were of? But not knowing her Design in such a Question, they gave no heed to it; yet she still insisting on it, and being in Company with her Mother and another Gentlewoman, about Four a Clock at Night she said to them, She thought she might tell them something (the time being now past) that she was forbidden to reveal; but as she began to tell it, she presently fell a crying, that she was tormented through her whole Body, however recovering from her Fit, she went on and told them, that a scabbed Faced Lass appear-
ed.

ed to her Yester-night, and was to be at the Gate at Ten a Clock, upon which the Servants being asked, what sort of Beggars had been at the Gate that Day, they declared that amongst others, there had been a Beggar-Woman at the Door and a Young Lads with her, who had Scabbs on her Face, and received their Alms.

January the Sixteenth and Seventeenth, when recovered of her Swooning Fits, she voided at her Mouth a great Number of Pins, which she declared *J. P.* and a Gentlewoman, who had been always one of her most violent Tormentors, had forced into her Mouth.

January the Twenty First, her Fits altered again, after this manner; she would fall into them with heavy Sighs and Groans, and hideous Out-cries, telling those about her, that Cats, Ravens, Owls, and Horses were destroying her, and pressing her down in the Bed. And at the same time her Mother and another Gentlewoman being in the Room with her, declared, that immediately after they had taken the Girl out of the Bed in this Condition, they saw something moving under the Bed-Cloaths as big as a Cat.

The same Morning, in the Intervals of her Fits, she said, She heard her Tormentors whisper amongst themselves, and suggest to one another, naming *J. P.* the *Andersons*, and others, that the Devil had promised and engaged to them, to carry her out at the Hall Window, to the end they might drown her in the Well which was in the Court, and then they said the World would believe she had destroyed her self; and the same Day, and several Days after, when seized with her grievous Fits, she attempted with such force to get out of the Window, that the Spectators with their whole force could scarce prevent her.

About this Time, nothing in the World would so discompose her as religious Exercises, if there were

were any Discourses of God or Christ, or any of the Things which are not seen, and are eternal, she would be cast into most grievous Agonies; and when she tried, in her milder Fits, to read any Portion of Scripture, repeat any of the Psalms, or answer any Question of the Catechisms, (which she could do exactly well at other Times) she was suddenly struck dumb, and lay as dead; her Mouth opened to such a Wideness, that her Jaws seemed to be out of Joynt, and presently they would clap together again with incredible Force. The same happened to her Shoulder-blade, her Elbow and Wrists. She would at other Times lie in a benumbed Condition, and drawn together as if she had been tied Neck and Heels with Ropes; and on a sudden would, with such Force and Violence, be pulled up, and tear all about her, that it was as much as One or Two could do to hold her in their Arms: But when Ministers and other good Christians (seeing her in such intolerable Anguish) made serious Application by Prayer to God on her Behalf, she had Respite from her grievous Fits of this Kind, and was commonly free from them, during most of the Time of Prayer, though seized by them before. Usually when Ministers began to pray, she made great Disturbance by idle loud Talk, Whistling, Singing and Roaring, to drown the Voice of the Person praying; particularly, *January* the Twenty second, she was more turbulent than at other Times, and continued some Space after the Minister began to pray, Singing and making a hideous Noise, fetching furious Blows with her Fist, and Kicks with her Foot at the Minister, uttering reproachful Talk to him, and calling him Dog, &c. yet being composed, and her Fits over before Prayer was ended, the Minister, when he had done, finding her sober, and in a right Composure of Mind, enquired why she had made such Disturbance?

turbance? She reply'd, she was forced to do it by the Hellish Crew about her, and that she thought that they were none of her own Words that she uttered.

January the Twenty-fourth, she said that some Things, relating both to her self and others, had been suggested to her by her Tormenters, but that they had threatned to torment her, if she should offer to make them known: And accordingly, as she offered to express her Mind, she was cast into two grievous Fits, in which she cried out with violent Pains, all the Parts of her Body becoming stiff, and extended like a Corps; her Head was twisted round, and if any Body offered by Force to obstruct such dangerous Motions, she would roar out exceedingly. Sometimes her Neck-bone seemed to be dislocated, and yet suddenly became so stiff, that there was no moving of it; and when those grievous Agonies were over, she again tried to express her Mind in Writing, but to no Purpose, for she was instantly cast into two other severe Fits, in which she was struck dumb, deaf and blind, and her Tongue drawn to a prodigious Length over her Chin: And when the Fits were over she declared, That the *Andersons*, *J. P.* the Gentlewoman, and *J. D.* with the Rest of the Hellish Crew, some of whom she could not name, had been tormenting her in her Fits, and that there had been Fifteen of them about the House all that Night, but that now they were all gone, but One, who was to stay about the House till her Fits were over: And accordingly her Brother and Sister declared, That they saw in the Morning a Woman in the Garden, with a red Coat about her Head, sitting at the Root of an Apple-tree; But *Bargarran*, with most of the Servants, being abroad, that Matter was not further searched into.

That

That same Day, about Six at Night, she was seized with a Variety of grievous Fits, in which sometimes she lay wholly senseless and breathless, with her Belly swelled like a Drum, her Eyes were pulled into her Head, so far, that the Spectators thought she would never have used them more. Sometimes when she was tying her own Neck-cloaths, her enchanted Hands would tie them so strait, that she had certainly strangled her self, if the Standers by had not prevented her; sometimes she offered, with Violence, to throw her self into the Fire, and several Times she struck furiously at her nearest Relations. In her Fits she would hold Discourse with her Tormenters, ask Questions concerning her self and others, and receive Answers from them, which none but her self could hear.

She reasoned particularly with One of them after this Manner. O, what ailed thee to be a Witch? Thou say'st it was but three Nights since thou wast a Witch. O if thou would'st repent, it may be God would give thee Repentance, if thou would'st seek it and confess: If thou would'st desire me, I would do what I could, for the Devil is an ill Master to serve, he is a Lyar from the Beginning; he promises, but he cannot perform. Then calling for her Bible, she said, I'll let thee see where he promised to our first Parents, that they should not die, and reading the Passage, said, Now thou seest he is a Lyar; for by breaking the Commandment, they were made liable to Death here, and Death everlasting; O that's an uncouth Word, long Eternity, never to have an End; had not God, of his Infinite Mercy, ordained some to Eternal Life, through Jesus Christ. The Devil makes thee believe thou wilt get great Riches by serving him; but come near, and having expressed that Word, she lost the Use of her Speech, her Tongue being drawn back into her

her Throat; yet beckening with her Hand to the Spectre to come near her, and turning over the Book, kept her Eye upon that Passage of Scripture, *Job xxvii. 18.* and pointing with her Finger at the Place, and shaking her Head she turned over the Book again, and recovering Speech, said, I'll let thee see where God bids us seek and we shall find; and reading over the Place, she said, It is God that gives us every good Gift; we have nothing of our own; I submit to his Will, though I never be better; for God can make all my Trouble turn to my Advantage, according to his Word; *Rom. viii. 28.* which Place she then read, and thus continued Reasoning for the Space of an Hour.

Sometimes she cried out of a violent Pain, by Reason of furious Blows and Strokes received from the Hands of her Tormenters, the Noise of which those who stood by heard distinctly, though they perceived not the Hands that gave them. One Night, sitting with her Parents and others, she tried out, something was Wounding her Thigh; upon which her Mother presently putting her Hand into the Girl's Pocket, found her Folding-knife open, which had been folded when put into her Pocket; but her Uncle not believing it, again put up the Knife, and leaving it folded in her Pocket, on a sudden she cried out as before that the Knife was Cutting her Thigh, being unfolded by the Help of J. P. and others; upon which her Uncle searching her Pocket, found the Knife opened as before: This happened twice or thrice to the Admiration of the Beholders, who took special Notice, that neither her self, nor any other visible Hand opened it.

Jan. the 25th she was again seized with her swooning Fits, with this remarkable Variation; her Throat was sometimes prodigiously extended, and sometimes as strangely contracted, so that she appeared

peared in palpable Danger of being choaked, and through the Violence of Pain in her Throat, and Difficulty of Breathing, struggled with her Feet and Hands, as if some Body had been actually strangling her, and she could neither speak nor cry out to any. With these kind of Fits she was frequently seized for several Days, and in the Intervals declared, that the fore-mentioned Persons, and others, (whom she could not then name) were strangling her; and that the Occasion of her not having Power to speak or cry in the Fit, was a Ball in her Throat, which also was visible to the Spectators, for they clearly discerned a Bunch in her Throat (whilst in the Fit) as big as a Pullet's Egg, which had almost choak'd her.

Sometimes she was kept from eating her Meat, having her Teeth close together when she carried any Meat to her Mouth. Also she was several Times kept from Drinking when at Meat; no sooner tasting the Drink, but she was in Danger of being choaked. Sometimes she held the Cup so hard, betwixt her Teeth, that it was not in the Power of those that were with her to unloose it: And when any Thing had fallen out amiss in the Place where she was, as the Falling and Breaking of a Cup, any Body receiving Harm, or the like, she would fall a Laughing, and rejoyce extremely, which was far from her Temper at other Times.

February the First, she attempted to tell some Things she had been forbidden by her Tormenters, upon which she was grievously tormented. At the Beginning of her Fits she would look oddly; sometimes towards the Chimney, sometimes towards other Places of the Room, but could not always tell what she saw; yet commonly she would name such and such Persons, who, she said, were then come to cast her into Fits. And when any desired her to cry to the Lord Jesus for Help, her

her Teeth were instantly set close, her Eyes twisted almost round, and she was thrown upon the Floor in the Posture of one that had been some Days laid out for dead ; and on a sudden she would recover again, and weep bitterly to think what had befallen her. That same Day, when her Fits were over, she said, she perceived it was by Means of a Charm, that such Restraints were laid upon her, that she could not tell what the Witches had forbidden her to make known ; but the Charm might be found out, as she said, by searching beneath the Bed where she lay ; and having quickly done it her self, she found (to the Apprehension of the Spectators) an Egg-shell open in the End, which being thrown into the Fire melted like Wax, without any Noise, which Egg-shells make, when thrown into the Fire.

After this, she said, she should not now be handled so severely, upon Trying to make known what the Witches had forbidden her, only her Tongue would be drawn back into her Throat, which accordingly happened. She likewise informed her Friends of many Things she had not Liberty to do before the Charm was found out ; particularly, that the Tormenters had often solicited her to become a Witch her self, and promised her great Riches, and perfect Health, to persuade her to it : Which Temptation, through the Infinite Mercy of God, she still refused, Reasoning with them after this Manner : The Devil promises what he cannot perform ; and granting he could fulfil his Promises, yet I am sure, from the Scriptures, that Hell, and the Wrath of God, will be the final Reward of all such as yield to his Wickedness ; to which she received this Reply, which none but her self could hear ; Hell, and the Wrath of God, was not so formidable as it was represented. She also said, that the

Witches had importunately urged her to give her Consent to the Taking away the Life of her young Sister, who was at that Time upon her Mother's Breast; which Temptation also, she was, through the Grace of God, enabled to resist. She told her Parents likewise, that there had been a Charm also laid upon the Top of the House where her young Sister was, (the Child having been sent out to Nursing, by reason of the continual Affliction of the Family) and that the Charm had been placed there by *Pinched Moggy*, who by that designed the Taking away of her Sister's Life, and that this was the Cause why she had so often, for some Weeks before, desired her Mother to bring home her Sister, constantly affirming that the Child would daily decay as long as she stayed there: Whereupon, her Parents observing the Decay of the Infant, even to Skin and Bone, they brought her Home, where she recovered. The Girl being asked how she came to the Knowledge of these Things, reply'd, that something speaking distinctly, as it were over her Head, had suggested these and other Things of that Nature to her.

February the Second, being in the Chamber with her Mother and others, she was suddenly struck with a great Fear and Consternation, and fell a Trembling upon the Sight of one *John Lindsay* of *Barclock*, Talking with her Father in the Hall. She told her Mother, the aforesaid *Lindsay* had been always one of her most violent Tormenters, and that she had been threatned with extreame Tortures, if she should offer to name him; whereupon she was desired to go towards the Place where he was, and touch some Part of his Body unknown to him; which having done, with some Aversion, she was instantly seized with extreame Tortures all over her Body. Upon this *Lindsay* was examined, but giving no satisfactory Answer, was

was desired to take the Girl by the Hand, which being unwillingly prevailed with to do, she was immediately, upon his Touch, cast into intollerable Pain; her Eyes almost twisted round, all the Parts of her Body becoming stiff, upon which she fell down in the Posture of one that had been, for some Days, dead; and after got up of a sudden, and began to tear her Cloaths, threw her self, with Violence, upon him; and when her Fits were over, the Standers by also took her by the Hand, but no such Effects followed.

About Six at Night there came an old Highland Man to *Bargarran*, who calling himself a weary Traveller, said, He desired to lodge there that Night; but the Servants refusing him Lodgings, gave him something by way of Alms. At this Time the Girl, being in the Chamber with her Mother and another Gentlewoman, said, to her best Apprehension, there was one of the wicked Crew in or about the House at that Time; upon which the Mother made Haste, with her Daughter, down Stairs towards the Kitchen; and finding, unexpectedly, the Highland Fellow there, whom the Girl, accused as one of her Tormenters, she desired him to take her Daughter by the Hand; which he being urged to do, the Girl immediately, upon his Touch, was grievously tormented in all the Parts of her Body; whereupon *Bargarran* gave Orders to secure him.

The next Morning, the Minister being come to visit the Girl, he called for the Highland Fellow, and having examined him about this Matter, without any satisfactory Answer, he brought the Child out of the Chamber, covering her Face, and almost her whole Body with his Cloak, and giving Signs to the Highland Man to touch her in this Posture, as he had ordered him before, without the Girl's Knowledge, which he did with a great Aversion, and the Girl not knowing of it, was

instantly cast into intolerable Agonies, yet others afterwards touching her no such Event followed. When her Fits was over, she desired the *Highland* Man to allow her the Liberty to discover the Persons that haunted and molested her, whom he had forbidden her to make known. Upon which the Old Fellow looking upon her with an angry Countenance, her Mouth was instantly stopped, and her Teeth-set; but being desired by those present to speak her Mind freely, whether he would or not; at last, she replied, That she was afraid to do it. And when by the Importunity of the *Lairds of Dargavel* and *Porterfield of Fillwood*, and some other Gentlemen there present, she tried to declare her Mind, she was seized with her Fits again.

Before this time, the lamentable Case of the afflicted Girl and Family had been represented to his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, who upon serious Application made to them, granted a Commission to a Noble Lord, and some Worthy Gentlemen to make Enquiry into the Matter.

By Virtue of this Commission some suspected Persons were seized, particularly on the Fourth of February *Alexander Anderson* (an Ignorant, Irreligious Fellow, who had been always of evil Fame, and accused by the afflicted Girl) was by a special Order from the Commissioner of Enquiry apprehended and committed to Prison; as also *Elizabeth Anderson* his Daughter, upon strong Presumptions of Witchcraft; for the other Year *Jean Fulton* her Grandmother, an Old scandalous Woman, being cited before the Kirk Session, and accused for cursing, and imprecating upon several Persons, which had been followed with fatal Events; the forementioned *Elizabeth Anderson*, her Grand Child, who lived in the House with her, declared before the Session, she had frequently seen the

the Devil in Company with her Grand-mother, in the Likeness of a small Black Man, and that he usually vanished on a suddain, when any Body came to the Door.

Upon this Presumption was the said *Elizabeth Anderson* seized with her Father, and committed to Custody; but at first denied any Manner of Accession to the Sin of Witchcraft, till afterwards being seriously importuned by two Gentlemen in Prison, before she came to *Bargarran's*, she confessed her Guilt; and that she had been at several Meetings with the Devil and Witches; and amongst others she accused her own Father, and the fore-mentioned *Highland* Fellow, to have been active Instruments in the Girl's Trouble; and before she was confronted with him, gave exact Marks of this *Highland* Man, though she knew not his Name, yet when she saw him did accuse him, and affirmed he was the Person she spoke of.

February the 5th, a *Quorum* of the Commissioners being met at *Bargarran*, and the Persons then accused by *Elizabeth Anderson*, to have been at Meetings with the Devil, and active Instruments of the Girl's Trouble, viz. *Alexander Anderson* her Father, *Agnes Naismith*, *Margaret Falcon*, *James Lindsay*, alias *Curat*, *Catharine Campbel*, were all of them confronted, with *Christian Shaw*, before the Lord *Blantyre*, and the rest of the Commissioners, and several other Gentlemen of Note and Ministers, and accused by her as her Tormenters. And they having all severally touched her in the Presence of the Commissioners, she was at each of their Touches, seized with severe Fits, and cast into intollerable Agonies: Others then present did also touch her in the same manner, but no such Effect followed: And it was remarkable, That when *Catharine Campbel* touched the Girl, she was immediately seized with more grievous Fits, and cast

into more intolerable Torments, than upon the Touch of the other accused Persons; whereat *Campbel* her self being daunted and confounded, though she had formerly declined to bless her, expressed these Words, The Lord of Heaven and Earth bless thee, and save both the Soul and Body; after which, the Girl, when the Fits were over, in which she had lain a most pitiful Spectacle, declared she was now loosed, and that she might freely touch any of the accused Persons, or they her, after this, without Trouble, which upon Trial, happened accordingly. And being asked how she came by that Knowledge, answered as formerly in the like Case, That something speaking distinctly as it were over her Head, suggested this to her, and likewise usually gave her the Knowledge of the Names of her Tormenters, and Places in which they lived.

February the 6th, The Girl being seized with severe Fits, something was seen in her Mouth like Pieces of Orange-Pills, which were invisibly conveyed thither: She seemed in her Agonies to chew them, and having got them down her Throat, she fell down as if she had been choaked, struggling with her Feet and Hands, and at the last Gasp, her Throat swelling in a prodigious manner, to the Terror of the Spectators. When she recovered, she was light-headed for sometime, and would say, O, it was a very sweet Orange-Pill, which I got from the Gentlewoman; declaring also, that there had been others there, particularly *Margaret L.* or *Pinch'd Moggi*, whose Sirname she had neither Power nor Liberty to express; nor durst she offer to do it, lest she should be tormented as she was threatened, and always happened, when she tried to do it, either by speaking or writing, as appeared the Day before in the Presence of the Commissioners.

About this time *Thomas Lindsay*, a Young Boy, not yet Twelve Years of Age, was seized, upon strong Presumptions of Witchcraft; he had said before several credible Persons, that the Devil was his Father, and if he pleased he could fly in the likeness of a Crow, up to the Top of a Ship's Mast, he sometimes caused a Plough to stand, and the Horses to break their Yokes, upon the pronouncing of some Words, and turning himself about, from the Right Hand to the Left, contrary to the Natural Course of the Sun. This he would do when any Body desired him for a Half-Penny.

Upon these and the like Presumptions he was apprehended, and at the first continued most obstinate in Denial, yet afterwards confessed to the Minister, at his own House, before credible Witnesses, his Contract with the Devil, and that he had received the insensible Mark from him, which is visible upon his Body; as also that he had been at several Meetings with the Devil and Witches, where he said his Brother *James* and others were present, and particularly those who had been accused by *Anderson*. This he confessed with some others of the like kind, before he was committed to Custody.

After this *Bargarran* made diligent search for *James Lindsay*, Eldest Brother to *Thomas*, he having been all along accused by the afflicted Girl, as one of her Tormenters, by the Name of the *Gleid*, or *Squint-Eyed Elf*, (the rest of her Tormenters having called him so, because of his Squint-Eyes) when he was brought to the Place, he did at first obstinately deny his Guilt; yet at length by the Endeavours of Mr. *Patrick Simpson*, a Neighbouring Minister, he ingenuously confessed it, and agreed in every material Circumstance with the other two, though he knew not what they had confessed, he having neither seen them before his

E 5 Confession,

Confession, nor had any Occasion of Information in Conference with others, being immediately brought thither from the Prison of *Glasgow*, where he had been shut up some Weeks before as a Vagabond, in order to be sent to Foreign Plantations.

A more particular Account of what all of them confessed, and acknowledged before the Commissioners for Enquiry, we have for further Satisfaction subjoined to this Narrative; with an Abstract of the Report made by the Commissioners to the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, concerning the whole Matter.

February the 11th, There was, by the Presbyterie's Appointment a Publick Fast, kept on the Girl's Account in the Church of *Erskine*, in which Mr. *Turner*, Minister of the Place, began with Prayer; Expounding, *Rev.* 12. from *v.* 7, to 13. Mr. *James Hutchison*, Minister at *Killellin*, took the next Turn of Prayer, and Preached on the 1. *Pet.* 5. 8. and Mr. *Simpson* concluded the Work, preaching on *Mat.* 17. 20, 21. The Girl was present all Day, and before she came to Church that Morning, told, That whilst she was in one of her Fits the Night before, she heard the Devil speaking of that Publick Fast, and what Ministers were to be there, and that the Old Man Mr. *James Hutchison* should stumble, and his Peruke fall off as he went up to the Pulpit, and all the People should laugh at him, and he should break his Neck going home. And when she came out of the Church, she said, The Devil was a Liar, for no such Thing fell out as he had threatned. She was all Day very quiet in Church, though troubled with some of her light Fits, during which, some Spectres appeared, as she said afterwards.

About Six at Night, there were present in the Chamber with the Girl, Mr. *Simpson* with his Wife, the Lady *Northbarr* and others, discoursing
and

and conferring about her Case; and whilst they were thus conferring together, she told them, she would gladly make some Things known, if she durst for her Tormenters; and afterwards attempting to do it was seized with a violent Fit, in which she leaped strait up, and appeared as if she had been choaked, so that it was as much as one or two could do to hold her fast in their Arms. And when the Fit was over, Mr. *Simpson* going about Family Worship, Expounded the 110th *Psalms*, and speaking of the limited Power of the Adversaries of our Lord Jesus Christ, from the latter part of v. 1. She was suddenly seized with another violent Fit, and some Blood issued from her Mouth, which raised Grounds of Fear and Jealousie in the Minds of the Spectators, as to the Occasion of it; yet they could not get her Mouth opened, her Teeth being close set. And in the Interval of the Fit, being asked, If she found any Thing in her Mouth that had been the Occasion of that Blood, she replied, she found nothing, nor knew the Cause of it; but opening her Mouth, they found one of her Double-Teeth newly drawn; but though Search was made for the same, it could not be found. After this the Minister proceeded upon the same Subject, but was again interrupted by her renewed Fits, yet closed the Exercise with Prayer; after this she was taken to Bed, without any further Trouble that Night.

February the 12th, *Margaret Laing*, and her Daughter, *Martha Semple*, being accused by the Three that had confessed, and accused by the Girl to have been active Instruments in her Trouble, came of their own accord to *Barragarra's* House, and before they came up Stairs, the Girl said, she was now bound up, and could not accuse *Margaret Laing* to her Face. Accordingly the Girl's Mother having desired some of those

those who were sitting by her to feel her Body, they found her so Stiff and Inflexible, that there was no moving of it, and immediately again found some Parts of her Body contracted and drawn hard as if by Cords; after this, *Margaret Laing*, and her Daughter going up to the Chamber to the Girl, in the Presence of the Minister and others, desired the Girl to come to her, for she would do her no Harm, and laying her Arms about her, spoke very fairly to her, and asked her, If ever she had seen her or her Daughter amongst her other Tormenters; to which the Girl did positively reply, She had frequently seen her Daughter, but declined, through Fear to accuse her self, saying faintly, no; after which *Margaret* and her Daughter returning into the Hall, and the Minister asking her why she said so, since she had accused her before, she answered, You must take my Meaning to be otherwise, upon which she was seized with a severe Fit, and after her Recovery being urged again to speak her Mind freely, Whether *Margaret Laing* was one of her Tormenters or not; the Child trying to say Yes, and having half pronounced the Word, was cast into inexpressible Anguish; and again in the Interval of her Fit, she tried to express the same Word, and saying only the Word *Tint* (that is, lost) was suddenly seized with another Fit; and when the Fit was over, and the Child returned to the Chamber, *Margaret Laing*, who was sitting near the Hall Door, spoke these Words after, The Lord bless thee, and drive the Devil out of thee. A little after this *Margaret* going down Stairs, the Girl came to the Hall and said, her Bonds were now loosed, and that she could accuse *Margaret Laing* to her Face, and declared the Occasion of being so restrained while *Margaret* was present, was, her letting fall a Parcel of Hair at the Hall Door as she came in, being a Charm made by her for

for that end, which occasioned her also to mention the Word *Tint* in her former Fit. And accordingly a Parcel of Hair had been found at the Hall Door, after *Margaret Laing* had gone strait from the Hall to the Chamber, which was immediately cast into the Fire and burnt. And it is remarkable, that it could be attested, that there was no Hair, or any other Thing before *Margaret Laing* came in; and the Girl being asked, how she knew *Margaret Laing* had laid the forementioned Charm upon her, she answered, that something speaking distinctly to her as it were over her Head, informed her so.

About Eight at Night she was very severely handled in her Fits, much after the former manner; and while she was in her swooning Fits, a Pin was seen in her Mouth, with which she seemed almost choaked, but by Divine Providence it was got out, though with much Difficulty. After this she was somewhat composed, and did not much complain of Pain, but was distinctly heard to discourse with some invisible Creatures about her, and the Replies given by her, and heard by those that took care of her, gave them ground to conclude she was tempted to set her Hand to a Paper then presented her, with Promises that upon yielding to it, she should never be troubled no more; as also that she should have some Sweet-Meats, a Glass of Sack, and a handsome Coat with Silver-Lace; she was also distinctly heard to say, resisting the Tempter, Thou art a filthy Sow; should I obey thee, this was not the End of my Creation, but to glorify God and enjoy him for ever; and thou promisest what thou cannot perform. Art thou angry at me for saying, thou Sow? What should I call thee but a filthy Sow? Art thou not the filthy Devil, for as brave as thou art with thy Silver and Gold Lace? Wouldst thou have me renounce my Baptism? Dost thou promise

mise to give me brave Men in Marriage and fine Cloaths, and perfect Health if I should consent to it? Dost thou say my Baptism will do me no Good, because thou sayest he was not a sufficient Minister that baptised me? Thou art a Liar, I will be content to die if ever I renounce my Baptism; O! through the Grace of God I'll never do it.

And thus she continued Reasoning, being both blind and deaf, for the Space of two Hours; and when she came to her self, did declare it was the Devil, who first presented himself, tempting her in the Shape of a Sow, to renounce her Baptism, as is hinted, and that he chid her when she called him Sow; and immediately appeared to her in the Shape of a brave Gentleman, having Gold and Silver-Lace on his Cloaths, still urging her to renounce her Baptism; which Temptation thro' the special Assistance of the Grace of God she effectually resisted. She also said, That it had been suggested to her by the Spirit, speaking to her as formerly over her Head, after the Combat with the Tempter was past, that one of her Tormenters would be at the House to Morrow.

February the 13th, She was seized with a severe Fit about Twelve a Clock at Noon, in which she continued above two Hours; both deaf and dumb; those in the Room with her cried to her aloud, and pinched her Hands and other Parts of her Body, but all to no purpose. And in this Posture she was hurried to and fro with Violence through the Room; and when any Body offered to hinder the dangerous and violent Motion, she seemed to be in, she roared exceedingly. Sometimes she would desire her Father and Mother, and others to come and take her home (supposing her self not to be in her Father's House) when she was in this deplorable Condition, *Margaret Roger* who lived in the Neighbourhood, came to the

the House of *Bargarran*, enquiring for the Lady; and coming up Stairs, the Girl's Parents remembering she had said the Night before, that one of her Tormenters was to come that Day to the House, brought *Margaret Roger* to the Chamber where she was, and as soon as she entered the Door, the Girl though she could discern none of the People who were present with her, nor answer them when they cried to her, yet presently saw her, and ran towards her, crying, *Moggi, Moggi*, Where hast thou been? Wilt thou take me with thee, for my Father and Mother have left me. The Spectators being astonished at this, caused *Margaret* to speak to the Child, which she having done, the Girl distinctly spoke and answered her every Word. After this, the Three that had confessed were also brought to the Chamber where the Girl was, and as soon as they entered the Door, she ran also to them laughing, as if she had been overjoyed, answering them when they spoke to her; and *Margaret Roger*, being confronted with them, they declared that she had been at Meetings with the Devil and Witches in *Bargarran's* Orchard, consulting and contriving the Child's Ruin.

The Lord's Day following, being *February* the 14th, After some short Intervals, she was again seized with her Fits, in which she said *Margaret Laing* and her Daughter, *Martha Semple*, were tormenting her, and cutting her Throat; which Words, through Violence of Pain, and Difficulty of Breathing, she expressed with a low and scarce audible Voice; and upon naming *Margaret Laing* and her Daughter, she was tossed and tormented in all the Parts of her Body, being caused sometimes to stand upon her Head and Feet at once; sometimes her Belly swelling like a Drum, and suddainly falling again; and sometimes her Head and other Parts of her Body were like to be shaken in Pieces,

Pieces, so that they that beheld her feared she would never speak more. And when the Fit was over, she declared, *Margaret Laing* said to her, whilst in the Fit, That she would give her a Tosty (which signifies hot and severe Handling) for naming her.

At this time she was seldom free of her light-headed Fits, which for the most part were all the Respite and Ease she had from the inexpressible Agonies which she endured, in her more grievous Fits, unless when asleep. And whilst she was in these Fits, no Body could perswade her to pray; yet when in a right Composure of Mind, she would weep bitterly at the Remembrance of this, expressing her Tears, lest it might be an Evidence that God would forsake her.

February the 18th, About Two in the Afternoon, she being in a light-headed Fit, said the Devil now appeared to her in the Shape of a Man; whereupon being struck in great Fear and Consternation, she was desired to pray with an audible Voice, The Lord rebuke thee Satan, which trying to do, she presently lost the Power of her Speech, her Teeth being set, and her Tongue drawn back into her Throat; and attempting it again, she was immediately seized with another severe Fit, in which her Eyes being twisted almost round, she fell down as one dead, struggling with her Feet and Hands, and getting up again suddainly, was hurried violently to and fro through the Room, deaf and blind, yet was speaking with some invisible Creature about her, saying, With the Lord's Strength thou shalt neither put Straw nor Sticks into my Mouth. After this she cried in a pitiful Manner, The Bee hath stung me; then presently sitting down, and untying her Stockings, put her Hand to that Part which had been nipped or pinched; upon which the Spectators visibly discerned the lively Marks of

of Nails of Fingers, deeply imprinted on that same Part of her Leg. When she came to her self, she declared that something spoke to her, as if it were over her Head, and told her it was M. M. in a Neighbouring Parish (naming the Place) that had appeared to her, and pinched her Leg in the Likeness of a Bee.

She likewise declared, That the forementioned M. M. soon after this had been suggested to her, appeared in her own Shape and Likeness, as she used to be at other times. Shortly after this, being being still affected with her light Fit, she whispered in her Mother's Ear, the Devil was now appearing to her again in the Shape of a Gentleman. And being instantly seized with her light Fit, in which she was both blind and deaf, she was distinctly heard, arguing after this Manner; Thou thinkst to tempt me to be a Witch, but through God's Strength thou shalt never be the better: I charge thee in the Name of God to be gone, and thy Papers too; in the Lord's Strength I'll not fear thee: I'll stand here, and see if thou can come one Step nearer me, I think thou fearest me, more than I fear thee. Then turning her self again, she was hurried to and fro with Violence through the Room, as formerly, saying, She was bitten or pinched very much in the Hands with Teeth, and nipped with Fingers above Twenty four times, which occasioned her to shriek horridly, and cry out every time she received them, shewing and pointing with her Finger to those Parts of her Arm and Leg which had been pinched and bitten; but neither saw nor heard any about her. And accordingly the Spectators visibly discerned the evident Marks of the Teeth and Nails of Fingers upon her Arms and Legs. In this Posture the Girl continued, from Two to Five in the Afternoon, and when her Miseries were over, she said, M. M. told her

her in the Fit, that *Margaret Laing*, then in Custody, had ordered her to handle her after that Manner, and that *Margaret Laing* had a Commanding Power over her.

On *Friday* and *Saturday*, the 19th and 20th of *February*, she was frequently seized with the fore-mentioned Fits, and violently bitten, pinched and nipped in her Hands, Neck, and other Parts of her Body; so that the Marks of Nails of Fingers and Teeth, with the Spittle and Slabber of a Mouth thereupon were evidently seen by the Spectators. When she was seized with her blind and deaf Fits, a crooked Fellow appeared to her, having his two Feet deformed, his two Knees turning inward towards one another, and the fore-parts of his Feet outwards, so that the broad side of his Foot moved foremost; and upon the appearing of this Fellow, her Feet were put in the same Posture, during the time he tormented her. It is to be observed, that there is a Fellow in one of the neighbouring Parishes, whose Feet are exactly deformed in this manner, who hath been along time of Evil Fame, and accused by those that confessed to have been at Meetings with the Devil, and the rest of the Crew in *Bargarran's Orchard*.

Saturday, *Feb.* the 20th, The whole Family being gone to Bed, they had left a great Quantity of Peets or Turf by the Hall Chimney, which the next Morning they saw burnt to Ashes, though there had been no Fire in the Chimney nor near them, so that the Plaister and Stones of the Wall where the Peets or Turf lay, were in a great part turned to Rubbish, by the Violence of the Fire, but no other Damage followed, the Hall Floor being laid with Stone, and the Peets lying within the Brace of a large Chimney.

February the 27th, The Chamber Fire having been covered with Ashes in the Chimney when the

the Family went to Bed, the next Morning, though a good Quantity of Ashes had been left, yet they found all swept away, and no Appearance of Ashes or Fire at all, though none in the Family had been there after the Fire was covered.

In Fits of this Kind she continued for several Days after, naming the forementioned crooked Fellow, *J. R.* and *M. A.* two Women that lived in the Neighbouring Parishes, which two latter were accused (by the Three that confessed) to be amongst her Tormenters, and particularly upon the Lord's Day, *Feb.* the 12th, and the *Monday* following the said *J. R.* appearing to her, sadly vexed her, telling her she was commissioned so to do, the Gentlewoman *M. M.* having a Pain in her Head at that time, and so not able to come forth. In relation to which it is worthy Observation, that the Girl declared *M. M.* to have appeared about two Days after, with her Head bound up with a Handkerchief, in which Posture she did not formerly appear.

On *Thursday, February* the 25th, She continued in her former Fits, weeping bitterly and complaining of a Pain in both her Sides, she also told in the Intervals of her Fits, that she was that Night to be in very grievous and severe Fits, her Tormenters being resolved to choak her, by putting Pins in her Mouth, which (though she emptied her self of all that were in her Cloaths) notwithstanding came to pass accordingly. In those Fits she was both blind and deaf, leaping up and down in an extraordinary manner, and thus continued for some Days, voiding out of her Mouth, a great Quantity of small broken Pins, which she declared *J. R.* had forced into the same.

Upon the Lord's Day, being the last of *February*, about Five a Clock in the Afternoon, she fell into severe Fits, attended with loud laughing, leaping,

ing, and running with Violence to and fro, and afterwards wept very much, crying out of Pain, and that a little *Highland* Man (whom she knew to be such by his Habit and Speech) was now breaking her Leg; which (because of Pain) she scarce could get told in the Fit, and putting her Hand to the Part of her Leg affected, the Spectators untying her Stocking, distinctly observed, a severe Bruise on her Shin-bone, which when touched, did so pain her, that she shrieked and cried horridly, and when recovered declared, that the little *Highland* Fellow had given her that Bruise. After this she voided at her Mouth a crooked Pin, which she said the *Highland* Fellow had forced into her Mouth, and designed to choak her.

The first Eight Days of *March*, she continued in her former Fits, with little Variation, voiding at her Mouth a great Number of small Pins, and often fainted and fell dead upon the Ground suddenly, struggling with her Feet and Hands; by all which her natural Spirits were much weakened and exhausted; sometimes also she attempted to go into the Fire. About this time when Ministers and other Christians met in the Family for Prayer, she used at the Beginning of the Work to make great Disturbance, particularly *March* 2. which Day being set a-part for Fasting and Prayer, she was for some time very composed, till suddenly a strong Blast of Wind forced open the Windows of the Room; upon which she was instantly seized with a violent Fit, whilst the Minister was supplicating God that she might be delivered from Satan's Bonds. In this Fit she was both blind and deaf to all, except her Tormenters, and was hurried with Violence to and fro in the Room; sometimes falling down as one Dead, sometimes singing and making a hideous Noise; sometimes naming *M. M.* and others, who she said, were there present and tormenting her, and

and named the particular Places of the Room where she saw them standing and sitting. And when recovered from the Fit, she told that a Gentlewoman and a little *Highland* Fellow came in with the Blast of Wind which forced open the Windows. This falling out upon the *Tuesday*, she continued in the light Fit without any intermission till the Sabbath after, not being seized with any of her severe Fits; and having gone to Church the next Lord's Day following, was perfectly well for most part of the Day; yet affirmed she saw *Janet Wigh* and others in one of the Windows of the Church, though invisible to all others.

Tuesday, being *March* the 9th, Her Mother and *Margaret Campbel* her Cousin took the Girl to walk with them in the Orchard; and returning back to the House, her Mother entered the Tower-Gate first, with the Girl at her back, and *Margaret Campbel* tarrying a little while at the Gate, her Mother went into the Kitchen, supposing they had both been with her, whereas the Girl was suddainly carried away in a flight up Stairs, with so swift a Motion and so unaccountably, that her Absence was not in the least suspected, but her Mother turning about and missing her, cried, where is *Christian* and *Margaret Campbel*? and instantly running up Stairs to look for the Girl heard a Noise, and following the same, found her leaping and dancing upon one of the Stairs, being seized with Fits, out of which being recovered, she told, that *J. P.* had carried her away from her Mother's back, as she entered the Kitchen-Door (her Feet not touching the Ground to her Apprehension) with a Design to strangle her in a high Wardrobe, with Ropes, on which they used to dry Linnen, but that the said *J. P.* could carry her no further than the Place where they found her, and therefore left her in such a violent Fit.

Upon

Upon the Lord's Day after, being the 14th of *March*, her Fits altered; her Mouth and Nose were prodigiously distorted, and by that means her Face was strangely and horribly deformed. That same Day, being at Church in the Forenoon, her Glove falling from her, was again put into her Hand by some invisible Agent, to the Amazement of the Beholders. To which we may add here, which is worthy our Observation, that all this while an invisible Being haunted her upon all Occasions, suggesting many Things to her, both concerning her self and others, yet was never heard, by any but her self.

The same Day, betwixt Sermons, she foretold that she was to be violently tormented in the Afternoon, which accordingly came to pass; and in her Fits she named one *J. K.* a Woman living in the Neighbourhood, whom she said she had seen in the Church. As also that she was Master of these kind of Fits, she was now afflicted with, asserting withal, That if the said *J. K.* were not sent for, she would grow worse and worse, which her Parents finding to be true, sent in the Evening for the said *J. K.* Threatning her, that if the Girl was any further troubled with her, that she should be apprehended as others had been; after which, the Girl being in the mean time in a very severe Fit, the forementioned *J. K.* prayed, though not desired, that God might send the Girl her Health; upon which the Girl was no more troubled with these kind of Fits, but instantly recovered, by falling into a Swoon, as she used to do before her Recovery out of any of her Fits.

Tuesday, March the 16th, She was again seized with her other Fits, all the Parts of her Body being Stiff; and sometimes she was heard conversing with the Gentlewoman (as she called her) vindicating her self of what the Gentlewoman alledged

alleged against her, viz. That she had accused some innocent Persons as her Tormenters: To which the Girl directly answered, That she was a Liar; saying, It was you your self, and no other, mentioned ever any such Thing.

Thus she continued till *Friday* afterwards, being never free of the light Fits, and now and then also falling into Swoons, and appeared to be almost choaked, by means of some Charms and Inchantments invisibly conveyed into her Mouth; which to the Apprehension of the Spectators, were like pieces of Chesnuts, Orange-Pills, Whites of Eggs, or such like, all which were distinctly observed, when she opened her Mouth occasionally in the Fit, and when the Spectators tried to get them out, she kept her Mouth and Teeth so close, that no Body could open it. And when recovered out of the Fit, she told, that *J. M.* a Woman in the Neighbourhood, had put them in her Mouth.

Upon *Friday, March* the 19th, She was violently tormented with severe Fits, in which her Neck was distorted, and bended back like a Bow towards her Heels, she struggling with her Feet and Hands, and was sometimes stiff, blind and deaf, and voided at her Mouth a great Number of small Pins, which she said the forementioned *J. M.* had put there. About Six a Clock that same Night, being violently tormented, she fell a crying, that if the Gentlewoman was not apprehended that Night, it would be in vain to apprehend her to Morrow; for, said she, I have much to suffer at her Hands betwixt Twelve and One a Clock in the Morning. After this she lifting up her Eye-lids with her Hands, and looking upwards, said, What art thou that tells me, that the Sheriff and my Father are coming here this Night? After which, the Sheriff, her Father, and *James Guthry*, Macer to the Justiciary Court, instantly came

came up Stairs, to the Amazement of those that remembred what the Girl had just said. The Girl continued afterwards blind and deaf, yet was heard in the Presence of the Sheriff, &c. discoursing with some invisible Being near her, saying, Is the Sheriff come, is he near me? and stretching forth her Hand to feel if any Body was near her, the Sheriff put his Hand in hers; notwithstanding which, she said to the invisible Being she discoursed with; I cannot feel the Sheriff, how can he be present here? Or how can I have him by the Hand, as thou sayest, since I feel it not? Thou sayest he hath Brown Cloaths, Red Plush-Breeches, with black Stripes, a flowered Muslin Cravat, and an Embroidered Sword-belt; Thou sayest there is an Old Grey-Haired Man with him, having a Ring upon his Hand, but I can neither see nor feel any of them; Is this their Errand indeed? The Girl being asked, how she came to the Knowledge of these strange Things, replied as formely in the like Case, That something speaking distinctly, as over her Head, suggested them to her. It is very observable, that the Persons aforesaid had that same Afternoon got an Order from the Commissioners of Justiciary, to apprehend the same Gentlewoman, and were so far on their way to put it in Execution against the next Morning; but being Witnesses to the Girl's Trouble, and hearing what she had told, viz. That a Delay in that Matter would prove exceeding dangerous to her, they went strait on, on their Journey to the Gentlewoman's House, and put their Warrant in Execution, that same Night. The Girl continued to be violently tormented, sometimes lying with her Neck, and other Parts of her Body upon the Ground, as if they had been disjointed, and sometimes endeavouring to throw her self into the Fire. About Ten a Clock, her Father, who had not gone with the Sheriff, began to read in the

the Bible, and she repeated the Words after him, though blind and deaf, which made the Spectators apprehend, that she had the Sense of hearing in those Fits, at least when the Word of God was read. To find out the Truth of which, her Father ceased from reading, yet she continued to repeat the following Verses of the Chapter, tho' none in the Room was reading, and she her self had no Book, but was heard to say to some invisible Being; Wilt thou teach me a Part of the Old Testament as well as the New. She continued in her Fit, and said to the People that were present; now it is Twelve a Clock, O! it is now past Twelve; sometimes lying as one dead thro' the Violence of the Pain, and Decay of her Natural Spirits; sometimes again recovering, she endeavoured to express something, but could not. A great Quantity of crooked Pins issued out of her Mouth, and her Body being prodigiously distorted with Pain, she complained of that Pain very grievously. Thus she continued till half an Hour past Twelve at Night, when suddainly she recovered, to the Admiration of the Beholders, telling them, she might now go to Bed, being told by some invisible Informer, That the Sheriff and the other Gentleman the Macer had now entered the Gentlewoman's House, and accordingly going to Bed, she was no further disturbed that Night. It is worthy of Remark here, that the Sheriff and Macer, at their Return declared, that it was just about that Time they entered the Gentlewoman's House, which the Girl mentioned.

Saturday, March the 20th, About Ten a Clock in the Forenoon, she was suddainly seized with Fits, falling down as dead, with her Eyes closed, and sometimes again opening and turning in her Head; she neither saw nor heard any about her, but was hurried with Violence to and fro through the Room, crying out with a loud Voice when

any one offered to hinder her Motion. Being in this Posture, and deprived of her Senses, *James Lindsay*, one of the Three that had confessed, was brought into the Room, and no sooner entered into the Room but was perceived by her, and she ran towards him Smiling, and saying, *Jamy*, Where hast thou been this long time? How is it with thee? and answered him distinctly to every Word he said, though at the same time she neither heard nor saw any other in the Room, nor could she converse with them, which was tried by several Experiments for that purpose, particularly a Tobacco-Box being held before her Eyes by one of the Company, she did not see it, but as soon as it was put into the Hand of *James Lindsay*, She asked him where he had got that Box? She continuing in this Condition, the Sheriff and her Father being present, thought fit to confront *M. M.* who was now come, to try if the Girl would see or hear her, as she had done *James Lindsay*, which accordingly they did. And as soon as *M. M.* entered the Door, the Girl (tho' still in her Fit) presently smiled and said, I see the Gentlewoman now; though she had never seen her personally before, but only by the Spectre in her Fits. She likewise heard when she Spoke to her, and answered distinctly to some Questions proposed by her, such as, When it was she had seen her tormenting her? To which she answered, She had seen her the other Night in her Fits; and further challenged her why she had restrained her from making known the *Highland Woman's Name*? adding, Thou pretendest thou knowest not what I say, Thou knowest well enough. Upon which the Gentlewoman, suddenly, without being desired, prayed, That the Lord might send the Girl her Health, saying, Lord help thee poor foolish Child, and rebuke the Devil. Which Words were no sooner expressed, but

but the Girl fell down as dead, and being carried to another Room, forthwith recovered of her blind, deaf, and light-headed Fit, became perfectly well, and continued so for some Time. Being thus recovered, and *M. M.* removed into another Room, the Girl was examined whom she had seen in her last Fit; to which she replied, She had seen the Gentlewoman, tho' in the mean time, she was altogether ignorant of her having been present with her in Person.

That same Day the Commissioners of Justiciary being come to *Bargarran*, *M. M.* and the Girl were again brought together; upon which the Girl being in her Light-fit, upon the first Look of *M. M.* was suddenly seized with severe Fits, and when recovered, accused her as being one of her most violent Tormenters, particularly mentioning such and such Times in which she had afflicted her, after an extraordinary manner; as also what Words she spoke in her hearing whilst in the Fit, and which is yet more remarkable, questioned the Gentlewoman, if she did not some time in *December* last, when she was tormenting her, remember how she went away from her in great Haste, saying, she could stay no longer, being obliged to attend a Child's Funeral at home. In Confirmation of which, it is very credibly informed, that *W. R.* a near Neighbour of hers had a Child buried that same Day, and that the Gentlewoman came not in due time to attend the Corps to the burial Place, but the Corps being near the Church-Yard, before she got to the House from whence they came, she returned again to her own Lodging, and so did not accompany the Burial at all.

The Lord's Day, being *March* 21st, She fell into swooning Fits, complained of a Pain near her Heart, and fell down as dead, not only when the Fits seized her, but also during the Intervals;

sometimes singing after an unusual Manner, and informing the Spectators that J. G. constrained her to that Kind of Musick, her own Lips not at all moving in the time, which the Beholders saw to be true; but her Tongue moved, to prevent which, she often put her Hand in her Mouth. At this time when either she her self, or those about her, offered to read any Part of the Scripture, she was violently tormented, declaring, That if she did but so much as hear the Word of God read that Day, she should certainly be extreemly tortured; in Confirmation of which, when some tried to read, *Heb. 11. 2. 4. 6. Isa. 40. Psal. 3.* She shrieked and cried out horridly, complaining that she was pinched, in Evidence of which, the Prints of the Nails of Fingers were distinctly seen on her Arms; and being thus pinched or bitten, four several times with great Violence and Pain, the Skin it self was torn off those Parts of her Arms and Fingers, where the Marks of the Teeth and Nails were observed; so that the Parts affected fell a Bleeding; and her Blood was both seen and felt by the Spectators.

Whilst she was in this sad and lamentable Condition, she seemed to be extreemly affected and oppressed with sore Sickness as one in a Fever; crying sometimes, to remove those dead Children out of her sight, which she frequently repeated from Six to Nine in the Morning. She continued thus the rest of the Day, and it was observed, that some Charms or Enchantments were put in her Mouth as formerly; of which being very sensible, she fell suddainly down on the Ground, putting her Hand to some Spittle which came out of her Mouth, lifting up some Trash which she again cast down to the Ground, so that it made a Noise; yet nothing could be seen in her Spittle, nor elsewhere by Spectators, tho' in

in her Mouth they could distinctly observe something like Orange-Pills, Whites of Eggs, and Pieces of Chesnuts.

Monday, being *March* the 22d. The fore-mentioned *J. M.* or *J. G.* came to *Bargarran's* House, and appearing Face to Face with the Girl, asked her if ever she had seen her in any of her Fits, alledging withal that she could be none of her Tormenters, because she was not seized with a Fit; tho' looking upon her, as she used to be, when she looked upon any of her other Tormenters; upon which the Girl being for some time silent, *J. M.* or *J. G.* again proposed the same Question; to which the Girl distinctly replied, Yes; upon which *J. M.* answered, Perhaps you have seen the Devil in my Shape.

In this Conference there are several Things very remarkable; as First, That the Girl upon her answering, Yes, was immediately seized with a Fit. Secondly, That though after *Catherine Campbell* had touched the Girl, in the Presence of the Commissioners, upon the 5th of *February* last, she had ever since that time Freedom to touch any of her Tormenters, without being seized with her Fits, as hath been hinted; yet it is true, that in the Room of that Charm a new one took place, viz. when at any time she looked her Tormenters in the Face, at the first Look she was seized with her Fits; which Charm she declared was laid on her by the said *J. M.* or *J. G.* and taken off again by her that very Morning before she came to visit the Damsel; and this she said was suggested to her by some invisible Being, speaking distinctly over her Head; and that therefore now the Girl had Freedom to look *J. M.* in the Face without being seized with Fits, which for a considerable Time before she could not do, when before any of her Tormenters. Thirdly, It is yet more observable, That the same Morning before ever *J. M.*

came to visit her, it was told by the Girl to several Persons in the Family, that J. M. had taken off that Charm, of being seized with Fits when looking any of her Tormenters in the Face; but that she had laid on another in it's Room, viz. That as soon as the Girl should by Words confer with any of her Tormenters, she should be seized with a Fit, which accordingly was verified when she spoke to J. M. or J. G.

On *Tuesday, March* the 23d, The Girl, being asleep in her Mother's Bed, about Three a Clock in the Morning, was suddainly awakened (having for some time struggled in her Sleep) in great Fear and Consternation, and being seized with her blind and deaf Fits, took fast Hold of her Mother, declaring to her Father and her, that the Devil was standing near the Bed assaulting her, upon which she cried out suddenly, God Almighty keep me from thy Meetings; I will die rather than go to them; I will never through the Grace of God renounce my Baptism; for I shall certainly go to Hell if I do it. Thou sayst I shall go to Hell however, because I am a great Sinner; but I believe what the Word of God says, though I have many Sins, yet the Blood of Christ cleanses from all Sin; and I will not add that great Wickedness to my other Sins which thou art tempting me to. It is no Wonder thou liest to me, when thou liest to God's Face. I know thou art a Lyar from the Beginning, and the red Coat thou promisedst me, I know thou canst not perform it: And though I should never recover, I am resolved, never to renounce my Baptism. It is God that hath kept me all the time from being a Witch, and I trust he will yet by his Grace keep me, not because of any Thing in me, but of his own great Mercy; and that he who hath kept me hitherto from being devoured by thee, I hope will yet keep me. This Conference continued near

near the Space of an Hour, her Father, Mother, and others being Ear-Witnesses to the same. And after Recovery the Girl declared, That it was the Devil, in the Shape of a naked Man in a Shirt, having much Hair upon his Hands and his Face, like Swines Bristles, who appeared to her, tempting her as above-mentioned.

Until the Sabbath following she continued in the light Fit, but every Morning and Evening was seized with her severe Fit, and continued still to name *M. M.* (who was at this Time set at Liberty) the forementioned *J. M. E. T.* a *Highland* Woman, and others, as being her Tormenters. It is requisite to observe here, that *M. M.* being set at Liberty upon Bail, the very Day after she went home, she again appeared to the Girl, tormenting her in her Fits, and continued so to do several Days; particularly on the *Saturday, March* the 27th, after she was set at Liberty, on which Day the Girl was heard to name her in her Fits, and saying to her, wilt thou say God help me poor and mad, or foolish Child, as thou didst the other Day before the Judges? Art thou wishing the Devil to take me? Where is the Habit thou wast cloathed with the other Day?

On the Sabbath Morning, *March* the 28th, The Girl through God's great Mercy towards her, was perfectly recovered from all her Fits, and became as well, sensible and composed as ever.

If it be questioned, how the Truth of all these Things is attested, there is none of those Particulars, but what had the Witnesses Names inserted at the End of every Paragraph, and are attested before the Commissioners for Enquiry at *Renfrew*, by the Subscriptions of the respective Witnesses. But since the Placing of them so now would have occasioned the Repetition of several Person's Names, and made the Narrative swell

too much ; we thought it fittest to set down the Names of the chief Witnesses together, at the End of the Narrative ; and rather because those Things fell not out in a private Corner, but Thousands in this Country have been Ear and Eye Witnesses of them, and have been fully convinced of a diabolical Hand in the Affliction of the Girl.

We shall only here make mention of a few of those that witnessed these Relations, as, the Father, Mother, Grandmother, and nearest Relations of the Girl ; as also the Servants of the Family, who were always present with her in her Fits. Such of the Commissioners for Enquiry, as of Justiciary, as had Occasion to be at the Place of the Events were as follows ; The Lord Blantyre, Mr. Francis Montgomery of Giffen, Sir John Maxwell of Pollock. Sir John Houston of Houston, Alexander Porterfield of Porterfield, the Laird of Black-Hall Younger, the Laird of Glanderstone, the Laird of Craigers, Porterfield of Fullwood, John Alexander of Blackhouse, Mr. Semple Sheriff of Renfrew, and several other honourable Persons of good Sense and Quality, as the Earl of Marshal, the Laird of Orbiston, the Laird of Kilmarnock, the Laird of Meldrum, the Lairds of Bishopston, Elder and Younger, Gavin Cockburn of Craigmure, William Dennefton of Colgran, Dr. Matthew Brisben, &c. and several Ministers who kept Days of Humiliation and Prayer weekly in the Family, and sometimes in the Parish-Church with the Congregation, viz. Mr. James Hutchison, Minister of the Gospel at Killellan, Mr. Patrick Simson of Renfrew, Mr. James Sterling of Kilbarcan, Mr. Thomas Blackwell of Paisly, Mr. James Brisben of Kilmalcolme, Mr. Robert Taylor of Houston ; and of neighbouring Presbyters, Mr. Neill Gillies, Mr. James Brown, Mr. John Gray, Ministers of Glasgow, whilst the Girl was there, Mr. John
Richie,

Richie Minister of old *Kilpatrick*, *Mr. Alexander King* of *Bonnill*, *Mr. Archibald Wallace* of *Cardross*, *Mr. John Anderson* of *Drimmen*, *Mr. Andrew Turner* Minister of the Place, who was frequently there; besides *Mr. Menzies* of *Cammo*, and *Mr. Grant* of *Cullen*, Advocates, who were Ear and Eye Witnesses to several important Passages of the Girl's Afflictions, and the convincing Evidences of its flowing from the Operation of the Devil, and his Instruments. The Truth whereof is further demonstrated by the Progress and Issue of the Tryal, at which were present on several Occasions, not only *Sir John Hamilton* of *Halcraig*, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, *Sir John Shaw* of *Greenock*, *Commislar Smollet* of *Bonnell*, *Mr. James Stewart* Advocate, who were concerned in the Commission with the others before-mentioned. Besides a great Confluence of several of the Nobility and Gentry out of the Country, such as the Earl of *Glencairan*, the Lord *Kilmaree*, the Lord *Semple*, &c.



The Report made by the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty's Privy Council for Enquiry: And the Confession of Elizabeth Anderson, James Lindsay, and Thomas Lindsay; transmitted by those Commissioners to the Council, before the granting of a Commission for a Tryal. To which is subjoined, The Sum of the Confessions of Margaret and Jennet Rogers, who confessed, during the Tryal, concerning the rest beyond Expectation. Together also, with an Account of the Confession and Death of John Reid, who made a Discovery agreeable to that of the former Witnesses after the Tryal was over. Lastly, there are added some Passages which fell out at the Execution of the Seven Witches who were condemned.

THE Commissioners for Enquiry having met at Bargarran, in February 1697, chose the Lord Blantyre for Chair-Man, and took the Confession of Elizabeth Anderson, Aged about Twenty Seven Years, as follows.

That about Seven Years ago, She staid with Jean Fulton, her Grand-mother, and playing about the Door, she saw a Black grim Man go
into

into her Grand-mother's House; after that her Grand-mother came to the Door, called her in, and desired her to take the Gentleman, as she called him, by the Hand; which she did, but finding it very cold, became afraid, and immediately he vanished. About a Month after, her Grand-mother and she being in the House together, the said Gentleman (whom she then suspected to be the Devil) appeared to them, and fell a talking with her Grand-mother, and whispering to one anothers Ears; upon which the Grand-mother desired her to take him by the Hand, being a Friend of hers; but *Elizabeth* refusing, her Grand-mother threatned, that she should have none of the Cloaths promised her, unless she would obey: Yet *Elizabeth* refused, saying, *The Lord be between me and him*, whereupon he went away in a Flight, but she knew not how.

Elizabeth was not troubled for a long time after, till her Father desiring her to go a Begging with him through the Country, and she saying, That she needed not seek for Meat, since she might have Work, her Father pressed her to go along with him, and took her to a Heath in *Kilmacome*, where were gathered together at that and other subsequent Meetings, *Catherine Campbel*, *Margaret Fulton*, her Grand Aunt, *Margaret Laing*, *John Reid*, *Smith*, *Margaret* and *James Rogers*, the Three *Lindsays*, (besides the Two Confessing ones) &c. and several others whom she did not know, and the aforesaid Gentleman with them; he came to her the said *Elizabeth*, bidding her renounce her Baptism, promising if she would consent to do so, she should have better Meat and Cloaths, and not need to beg; but, as she declared, she would not consent. Then he asked, what brought her thither, she answered, That she came with her Father, whereupon the Devil and her Father went and

and talked together by themselves, but she knew not what. She declares, in that Meeting was concerted the Tormenting of Mr. *William Flemming*, Minister of *Innerkipp's* Child.

The said *Elizabeth* Confesses, She was at another Meeting with that Crew, above the Town of *Kilpatrick*, with the aforesaid Gentleman, whom they called their Lord; and that she went with her Father to the Ferry-Boat of *Erskin*, where the Devil with the rest of the Band, overturned the Boat, and drowned the Laird of *Bridghouse*, and the Ferry-Man of *Erskin*, with several particular Circumstances concerning that Affair; as that some of the Crew would have saved the Ferry-Man, but one of them, *viz.* his Mother-in-Law was against it, because he had expelled her out of his House, a little before the Meeting. She acknowledges she was present with them at the destroying of *William Montgomery's* Child, by strangling it with a Sea Handkerchief; that having entered the House, they lighted a Candle, which was somewhat blewish; and *Agnes Naismith* saying, What if the People awake? *Margaret Fulton* replied, Ye need not fear. She also declares, That five Weeks before, her Father brought her on Foot to *Bargarran's* Orchard, into which they entered through a Breach of the Wall, and the Persons before named were present, &c. the Devil telling them that no Body would see them, at which they laughed. At this Meeting they with their Lord, contrived the Destruction of *Christian Shaw*; some being for stabbing her with a Rapier, others for Hanging her with a Cord, a Third for Choaking her, and some intended to have her out of the House to destroy her; but fearing they might be taken before the next Meeting, their Lord, as they called him, gave them a Piece of an unchristened Childs Liver to Eat; but the Deponent and

and the other two Confessors avoided the Eating of it, telling them, that though they were apprehended, they would never confess, which would prevent an effectual discovery. And further, several of them being afraid, that the Deponent would confess, and Discover them, as she had formerly served her Grand-mother, they threatened to tear her in Pieces if she did so, and particularly *Margaret Laing* threatened her most.

After two Hours, they flew away and disappeared, except the Deponent, who went home upon her Feet; she confesses likewise that one Night her Father raised her out of her Bed, and going to the River-side, took her on his Back, and flew with her over, from whence they went on Foot to *Dunbripton*, and in *Mr. John Hardy*, the Minister's Yard, the Crew and their Lord being met, they formed the Picture of *Mr. Hardy*, and dabbed it full of Pins, and having put it amongst Water and Ale mixed together, roasted it on a Spit at a Fire, &c. after which her Father and she returned as they went.

James Lindsay, Aged Fourteen Years, declares, That one Day he met with the deceased *Jean Fulton* his Grand-mother, at her own House, where she took from him a little round Cap, and a Plack, or $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Penny; at which being vexed, he required them from her again, and she refusing to restore them, he called her an Old *Witch* and ran away; upon which she followed him and cried, That she would meet him with a Vengeance. About Three Days after, being a Begging in the Country, he met his Grand-mother with a Black grim Man, whom she desired him to take by the Hand, which he did, but found it exceeding cold, and his own Hand mightily squeezed; upon which the said Gentleman (as she called him) asked the Deponent if he would serve him, and he should have a Coat, Hat,

Hat, and several other Things; to which *James* answered, *Yes, I'll do it*; after this the foresaid Gentleman (whom the Deponent knew afterwards to be the Devil) and his Grand-mother went away, but he knows not how. He acknowledges he was frequently afterwards at Meetings with the Devil and Witches, particularly those mentioned in *Elizabeth Anderson's* Confessions; that their Lord came to *James* at their first publick Meeting; took him by the Hand and forbid him to discover; that they contrived beforehand at the said Meeting the drowning of *Bridghouse*, and concurs with *Elizabeth Anderson* as to the Design of saving the Ferry-man, which his Mother-in-Law did divert. He being examined, declared he did not see, *J. K.* and *J. W.* at the committing of the foresaid Fact; (and indeed they were then in Prison) That they with a Cord strangled *Matthew Park's* Child, and that the Person who waited on the Child finding it stifled, cried out, *Matthew, Matthew, the Child is Dead.* *Elizabeth Anderson* concurs in this Particular, and tells, that when they had done they took the Cord with them.

This Deponent further declares, That he was present at strangling *William Montgomery's* Child, with a Sea Handkerchief, and heard *Agnes Naismith* say, *Draw the Knot.* That about five Weeks ago, he was carried to them in *Bargarran's* Orchard, and concurs with *Elizabeth Anderson* in what was treated of there, as to the Destroying of *Christian Shaw*, and the Charm against confessing. He likewise acknowledges the Meeting at *Dunbritton* about *Mr. Hardy*; and that he hath several times appeared to *Christian Shaw* both in *Glasgow* and *Bargarran*, with the rest that tormented her, and put into her Mouth, Coal-Cinders, Bones, Hay, Hair, Sticks, &c. intending thereby to choak her. That he and they did often prick and stab

stab her in the following Manner, viz. He had a Needle, which if he put in his Cloaths, her Body would be pricked and stabbed in that Place where he fixed the Needle, and if he put in his Hair, that Part of her Head would be tormented; That he saw her void the Pins they had put in, on which time he cried out in these Words, help J. D. who was also then present; That when the Ministers began to pray in *Bargarran's* House at several Occasions, the Devil and they immediately went away, &c.

Thomas Lindsay being under Age declares, That the same *Jean Fulton* his Grand-mother, awaked him one Night out of his Bed, and caused him to take a black grim Gentleman (as she called him) by the Hand, which he felt to be cold. And that he having enquired if *Thomas* would serve him and be his Man, he would give him a red Coat, he consented. And the Gentleman (whom he know afterwards to be the Devil) pinched him in the Neck, which continued sore for Ten Days. That one Day after his Grand-mother's Decease, coming by her House, he thought she appeared to him stroaking his Head, and desiring him to be a good Servant to the Gentleman to whom she had given him; and forbid him to reveal it.

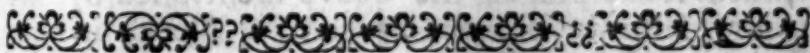
He declares, That one Night in Bed in the House of one *Robert Shaw*, he was awaked out of his Sleep, and carried as if he had flew to *Martha Park's* House, where were present the particular Persons, named by him, and concurs as to the Manner of strangling of the Child, with *James Lindsay* his Brother; and that another Night being in the House of *Walter Alexander*, he was brought to the Strangling of *William Montgomery's* Child, and agrees likewise in the Manner of it with his Brother, only he says, the Sea Handkerchief with which they committed the Fact was speckled; he likewise concurs as to the Meeting in

in *Bargarran's* Orchard about five Weeks ago, and in what was acted there; as also about *Mr. Hardy*, with this Addition, that he himself turned the Spit, on which the Picture was roasted.

It is to be observed, That as the Three Confessors were apprehended separately upon several Occasions, so after their Obstinacy to discover was abated, they made these Confessions in several distinct Places without Communication, without Knowledge of one another's Confessions. The Commissioners examined them by other trying Questions that were new, on purpose to make Experiment of their Agreement or Disagreement; but still found them to agree in the Matters of Fact (declared by them) particularly in Strangling the Children, the Death of the Minister, the Drowning of those in the Boat, and the Tormenting of *Bargarran's* Daughter. The Commissioners did also confront them both with *Christian Shaw*, the afflicted Girl, and the other Persons accused (whom they had caused to be apprehended) and both the Girl and the Confessors did accuse them to their Faces, and convince them by Circumstances, with great Steadiness and Agreement, though frequently brought in. The Commissioners did also try some Experiments, about the Girl's falling in Fits at the Approach of the Accused, as is expressed in the Narrative; and examined her with those who were commonly about her, as to the Particulars of her Sufferings; they tried to cause her to write, since she could not speak the Name of a Person, whom she first called *Margaret*, or *Pinch'd Moggi*, and asserted to be one of her chief Tormenters; but upon writing *Margaret*, and the Letter *L.* of her Surname, the Girl was presently taken with a fearful Convulsion; the Pen was struck out of her Hand, and she fell dead, with heavier Groans than ordinary; after her Recovery, some Ministers shewed her a Passage

sage of the Bible, but as soon as she attempted to cast her Eyes on it, she fell into vehement Pangs ; but one of the Commissioners ordering the Book to be closed, she immediately came to her self. In the last Place, the Commissioners called before them, those Persons who had signed the Passages of the several Days in the written Journal of the Girl's Sufferings; and having examined them upon it, transmitted the same with the Declarations of the Three Confessors, and several of the Passages that occurred in the Precognition, to his Majesties Privy-Council, by whom they were appointed to enquire into the Matter.

Besides all this, The signed Attestations of Dr. *Matthew Brisben*, Physician, and Mr. *Henry Marshall*, Apothecary in *Glasgow* ; did very much influence them to the Belief of an extraordinary Cause of those Things that befel *Christian Shaw*.



The Doctor's Attestation.

ABOUT the Twenty Fourth, or Twenty Fifth of *October* last, The Lady *Bargarran* brought a Daughter of hers, a Child of Eleven Years Old, or thereabouts, to *Glasgow* to take Advice of Physicians concerning her. When I was first brought to her, I could hardly be persuaded, there was any Need of me or any Man else of my Profession, the Child appeared so brisk and vigorous in Motions, so chearful, and of so florid, and of so good a Colour, and in a Word, to outward Appearance every way healthful ; but it was not long till I found my self obliged to alter my Thoughts of her ; for I had
not

not been above Eight or Ten Minutes in the Room, till she arose from her Seat, and acquainted the Company that she was instantly to be seized with a Fit; and so being strait way carried to Bed, I observed a considerable Stiffness and Distention in her left Hypochondre, which falling in a trice, she was taken with horrid convulsive Motions in most Parts of her Body, but her Back and Neck especially. This was accompanied with heavy Groans at the first, which as soon as she was able to frame Words were converted into a Kind of expostulatory Murmuring against some Women, two whereof she always named; one of them she called *Naismith*, as I remember, and the other *Campbel*. All these Symptoms I thought were very reducible to the Effect of hypochondriack Melancholy; and therefore putting her in such a Course as I thought proper against that Kind of Malady, I was in absolute Security as to her Case; the Child having continued free from all the above-mentioned Symptoms, I think, for the Space of a Week, in this Town, and some Eight or Ten Days more in the Country. And I was perfectly surprized, when a Friend of the Lady *Bargarran's* told me, that the Child was returned to Town again, and worse than ever; for now she was in great Hazard of being choaked with Mouthfulls of Hair, which she apprehended the Women above-mentioned to be pressing down her Throat, had not she herself pulled it out.

Having read many such Stories in Authors, and heard the like from other Hands too, but never seen any such Things, I was the more earnest to see the Child again. For some Weeks whilst she staid in this Place, I was frequently with her; observed her narrowly, and was confident she had no human Correspondent to subminister the Straw, Wool, Cinders, Hay, Feathers, and such like

like Trash to her ; all which upon several Occasions, I have seen her pull out of her Mouth in considerable Quantities ; sometimes after several Fits, and sometimes without any Fit at all, whilst she was discoursing with us ; and for the most part she pulled out all these Things without being wet in the least ; nay rather as if they had been dried with Care and Art ; for one Time, as I remember, when I was discoursing with her, and she with me, she gave me a Cinder out of her Mouth, not only dry, but hot, much above the Degree of the natural Warmth of a Human Body. During the Time she was thus exercised, tho' she had daily not only light convulsive Motions, but two strange Convulsions, such as we call *tetavoi*, to a high Degree, and Rigidity of the whole Body ; yet she fancied as at other times, she saw many such People, as have been already named, about her ; but the Voiding, or rather Pulling out of the Things above-named, did no sooner cease, but as in all her Fits, when she was able to speak, she constantly cried out, that they were pinching or pricking her. Those Fits were both more severe, and more frequent than before, and followed with an Alienation of Mind for some time. I have seen her too, when free of all other Fits, suddainly seized with Dumbness, her Tongue being strangely contracted, so that it appeared to her self, as she expressed it, as if the People were drawing it down her Throat. This I declare on Conscience, and in most solemn Manner is what I have seen and handled ; and were it not for the Hairs, Hay, Straw, and other Things, wholly contrary to human Nature, I should not despair to reduce all the other Symptoms to their proper Classes in the Catalogue of Human Diseases : Written and Signed at *Glasgow*, the Thirty first Day of *December* 1696, By me,
Sic subscribitur, M. Britten, M. D.

The



*The Declaration of Mr. Henry Marshall
Apothecary.*

*Being desired by John Shaw, of Bargarran,
to declare what I know of his Daughter
Christian's Condition, I do it as follows.*

ABOUT the latter End of October last, She was brought hither, to have Dr. Brisben's Advice about her Health, and I was employed as Apothecary. The Child was about Eleven Years of Age, of a good Habit of Body as far as I could judge; but now and then fell into Convulsions, Swoons, and a little Lightness of Head; and when recovered out of these Fits, she would be perfectly well again, and by the Use of the Means the Dr. prescribed, she seemed to be free of her Distemper; whereupon she was taken back to the Country; but had not been long there till she became worse than before, and was sent hither again, to be under the Doctor's Care; and after her Fits she took out of her Mouth, without any Pressure or Vomiting Tufts of Hair, Straw, long and folded together, burnt Coals, Peices of Bones, Leather, Chips of Timber, and several other Things, several of which she hath taken out of her Mouth and given to me, whilst we were conversing together. And upon the 20th of November last, when I went to see her, I found her in a Swoon,

Swoon, whereinto she had fallen, just as I came to the House. When she had lain so for some Time, she arose in a great Rage, beat all about her, frowning with her Countenance, and expressing a great deal of unknown Language, in an angry Manner. Then she put the Tuft of a Highland Belt, which was girt about her, into her Mouth, and pulled with her Hand so hard, that if we had not cut the Belt with a Knife, she had in all Probability drawn out her Teeth; upon which she tore the Tuft all to Pieces with her Teeth, and afterwards fell a tearing her Cloaths, and her Shoes, which she pulled off, and every Thing she could get into her Hands. Then she fell into a dumb Fit, as she called it, in which all her Body was so convulsed and distorted, that I endeavoured to put her Arms into a better Posture, but found them so stiff, that I could not bring them to their natural Posture without breaking them. Then she arose out of that Fit, and went up and down the Room, and would have gone through the Wall, muttering the former unknown Language. After this she fell head-long on the Ground, as if she had been thrown down with Violence, where she lay for sometime as Dead, but afterwards arose, as if she had been something recovered, and fell a reasoning very distinctly, thus; *Ketie, what ails thee at me? I am sure I never did thee wrong. Why should thou trouble me? Come let us agree, let there be no more Difference betwixt us.* And putting out her Hands as if she would have taken her by the Hands, she said, *Let us shake Hands together;* then pulling in her Hand again, she said, *well Ketie, I cannot help it, you will not agree with me;* and having pronounced those Words she immediately fell into another Fit, and swooned; and out of that into another Rage, in which she bit her own Fingers, and tore her Hands upon Pins that were in her own Cloaths; after which she appeared angry; pulled

pulled out all the Pins and threw them away. And after she had been tormented thus for more than half an Hour, without any Intermision, she recovered and became perfectly well. Upon that, I asked her how she was? To which she answered, she had just now a very bad Fit, for during the Fit, she knew no Body, neither took any Notice of me, though I moved her Body, and spoke often to her. I asked her again, what she saw in her Fits? she answered, I saw *Catherine Campbel, Agnes Naismith, Alexander Anderson*, and others that she did not know. I enquired again, What *Catherine Campbel* was doing? she told me, she was going to thrust a Sword into her Side, which made her so desirous to be agreed with her. And when she had told me this, instantly she fell into another Swoon, and repeated all that was said before, and much more, which I have partly forgot, and in each of those two Fits she continued Half an Hour. All this I declare upon Conscience, and in most solemn Manner, to be Truth, in Testimony whereof I have Writ and Subscribed this at *Glasgow*, the First Day of *January 1697*. Sic Scribitur,

HENRY MARSHALL.

Whilst the Tryal was depending, *James and Margaret Rogers* confessed after this Manner; the Commissioners had adjourned two several Times, and though they were to meet on the Third, yet it was not expected, that they would proceed, till Providence should make the Guilt of the Prisoners appear, by the further Testimonies of those that should confess; but the very Morning they were to meet the Third time, those two Women above-mentioned, confess'd, which was a Surprize to every one that came to attend the Court; since these were not formerly taken notice of as others were;

were; but freely confessed without any Body desiring them, nor had they such Means of Instruction as others had. Their Confessions agreed as to the Meetings and the Things acted in them with those of the three former, and the other Evidences of visible Matters of Fact; only they were so punctual as to name some of the indicted Persons, whom they did not see at those Rendevouzes; and great Care was taken to compare their Testimonies with what had been already discovered, and to try their certain Knowledge by new Questions when they were separated from one another, &c. Thus the whole Matter was so evident, that the Commissioners with the general Approbation of the most intelligent Men in the Country, who came to attend the Court, approved the Proceedings of the Process, and bringing seven of the best known Criminals (for whom an Advocate appeared) to Tryal. Accordingly there were some Days allowed for the Persons indicted, to give in their Informations upon the finding the Bill; and at the Term their was much Time spent in producing Witnesses, an Account of which is referred to another Place,

Upon the 21st of May, 1697, after Tryal of the Seven Witches, there is an Attestation subscribed by Mr. *Patrick Simson*, Minister of *Renfrew*; *Walter Scot* Bailly there, &c. of this Import; *John Reid*, Smith at *Inchannan* Prisoner, did in Presence of the said Persons and some others, declare, that about a Year ago, the Devil (whom afterwards he knew to be such) appeared to him when he was travelling in the Night-time, but spoke none to him at the first Encounter. At the second Appearance he gave him a Bite or Nip in the Loyn, which he found painful for a Fortnight; that the third Time he appeared as a black Man, &c. desired him to engage in his Service, upon Assurance of getting Riches and Comfort in the World;

World; and that he should not want any Thing that he would ask in the Devil's Name; and then he renounced his Baptism, putting one hand to the Crown of his Head, and the other to the Sole of his Foot; thereby giving himself up to Satan's Service; after which the Pain of the Bite or Nip ceased. He said, that hitherto there was none others present with them; but afterwards he was at several Meetings, particularly at that in *Bargarran's* Yard, about the Time when there was a Fast for *Christian Shaw*, where the Devil appeared in the same Kind of Garb as he first appeared to him, and they consulted *Christian's* Death, either by Worrying or Drowning her in the Well; and the Devil said he would warrant them, that they should neither be heard, seen, nor confess; to which End he gave every one of them a Bit of Flesh; that the Depo-
nent got one of them, but let it fall and did not eat it. He afterwards owned his Confession, in the Presence of the Laird of *Jordan-Hill* the Minister, Mr. *Andrew Cochran* Town Clark, and Bailly *Paterson*; and being asked by *Jordan-Hill*, how they were advertised of their Meetings; he said, that commonly at their Meetings, the Time of the next was appointed; but for particular Warning there appeared a black Dog with a Chain about his Neck, who tinkling it, they were to follow, &c. And being asked by the Minister, if he did now wholly renounce the Devil (for he had formerly told how Satan did not perform his Promise) and give himself to Jesus Christ, and desire to find Mercy in God through him; he consented to the same. It is to be observed, that *John Reid* after his Confession, had called out of the Prison Window, desiring Bailly *Scot* to keep that old Boddy *Angus Forrester*, who had been his Fellow Prisoner, close and secure; whereupon the Company asked *John*, when they were leaving him on Friday Night the 21 of May, whether he desired
Company

Company or would be afraid alone, he said he had no Fear of any thing: So being left till Saturday in the Afternoon he was found in this Posture; *Viz.* sitting upon the Stool which was on the Hearth of the Chimney, with his Feet on the Floor and his Body straight upwards, his Shoulders touching the Lintel of the Chimney, but his Neck tyed with his own Neckcloth (the Knot of which was behind) to a small Stick thrust into a Hole above the Lintel of the Chimney; upon which the Company and especially *John Campbel* a Surgeon who was called, thought at First, as he was in an ordinary Posture of sitting, and the Neckcloth not having any drawn Knot, but an ordinary one which was not very strait, and the Stick not having the Strength to bear the Weight of his Body, or the Struggle, that he had not been quite dead; but finding it otherwise, and that he was in such a Scituation, that he could not have been the Actor thereof himself, concluded that some extraordinary Agent had done it; especially considering that the Door of the Room was secured, and that there was a Board set over the Window, which was not there the Night before when they left him.

We shall add but little as to what passed at the Execution of the Seven Witches, because there is no subscribed Attestation of it; and our Design is to advance nothing, but what stands warranted by Testimonies of known Credit beyond Contradiction; yet it is well known when they were going to the Stake, one of the *Lindsays* was overheard saying to the other, now Brother it is high time that we should confess, since our keeping it up will serve us to no purpose, or the like Expression; to which the other answered, that he should never do that, &c. And *Margaret Laing* before Execution confessed, that when the Devil first appeared, she knew him not to be such, till afterwards he gave her the sensible Marks found upon her Body, she

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yielded

and laid them in the Corner of the Cellar; and accordingly being searched for, they were found in the particular Place she mentioned. Another such Passage happened to a Friend of *Bargarran's*, who went with him to solicit a Commission from the Council; for he having brought along with him these Pieces of Cloth, buttoned up in his Pocket, and secured them, as he thought, they were missing in the Morning; but after Search, found at a good distance from his Pocket, though no visible Thing had been in the Room to open it, or carry them off.

Lastly, it is to be observed, that the Young Girl *Christian Shaw*, discovers a great Sagacity in her Discourse and Observations, but attended with extraordinary Modesty. She observed amongst other Things, that the Doors and Windows did open and shut, upon the Entry of the Witches, and that there was at no time such a Number of them about her, as the Room might not very well contain, with the visible Persons therein contained; And she likewise observed them to change their Places with a great deal of Agility, when any other came into it, or offered to attack them, upon her pointing where they were. And she often averred, from the Instance of the Spirit that spoke to her above her Head, told their Names, and gave her other Means of discovering of them, &c. that Satan does often contrive their Ruin, by the most indiscernable Methods he can; because if he did it openly, it would scare others from engaging with so faithless a Master.



Two Letters, giving an Account of what appeared most material or curious in the Tryal of the seven Witches.

THE Truth of the strange Things contained in the preceeding Narrative, was at the First only carefully search'd into by private Persons; but at last became so notorious, that upon Application, founded on a Journal of those extraordinary Events, and attested by many of the Gentry in the Country the Privy Council gave a Commission for enquiring into it.

The Honourable Persons to whom this was recommended, did with great Impartiality and Exactness make a Report, which influenced the Government to order the Execution of Justice upon some of those Witches, who otherwise might have lurked without being discovered.

Upon this the Council directed a second Commission, for the Tryal of those that appeared to them to be most charged by the Evidence of the Witnesses, produced on the first Commission. Several of the Judges were not only Persons of Honour, but also of singular Knowledge and Experience, and accordingly proceeded with extraordinary Caution; and were so far from Precipitancy in the Affair, that after several Diets of Court they adjourned to a long Term, that in the mean time the Prisoners might be provided with Advocates.

Accordingly an Advocate appeared for them, and managed their Defence with all the Accuracy that could be expected. There were above twenty Hours employed at one Diet, in Examination of Witnesses; and the Jury being shut up, spent above Six Hours in comparing the Evidence; whereupon seven of the most notorious Criminals were convicted and condemned.

The Crimes charged and proved against them, were not meer spectral Imaginations, but obvious and plain Matter of Fact. *Viz.* The Murders of some Children, and Persons of Age; and Tormenting of several Persons, particularly *Bargarran's* Daughter; and both these not at a Distance, but contiguously by natural Means of Cords, Pins and the like. Besides the other ordinary Means of Witchcraft, such as renouncing Baptism, entering in Contract with, and adoring the Devil in a corporal Shape, &c. which could not but be sustained as a sufficient Ground for a Tryal in *Scotland*, since there is an express Statute, *Parliament* 9. Act. 73. *Queen Mary*, ordering such Persons to be put to Death.

To make the Probation the more convincing, it was adduced orderly in three Periods. The First consisted of unsuspected Witnesses, who proved Fact; from whence it was necessarily inferred, that there was Witchcraft in the Case. The Second did include unexceptionable Witnesses, who deponed upon Facts, which made it probable, if not necessary, that the Persons indicted were the Witches. The Third comprehended six positive Testimonies, of those who saw and heard the Witches committing the Crimes charged in the Indictment.

The only valuable Subject of Debate, was as to the Import of these last Testimonies; five whereof were by Confessants, who had been at the Meetings wherein the Crimes were committed; and the sixth of *Bargarran's* Daughter, who was one

one of the Persons afflicted. The antecedent Part of the Probation was by Witnesses beyond Exception. And the Judges upon Debate sustained four of these Six, *cum nota*, and Two of them to be examined without Oath. So nice were they in favour of the Criminals Lives, since some of these Witnesses might have been admitted in such a Crime without any Quality, by the most scrupulous Judicatory in Europe. But all Things were carried on in this Proceeding with Tendernefs and Moderation. For even the Advocates, who were sent to prosecute the Indictment by his Majesties Council and Advocate, did not act with the Byass of Parties, but on the contrary, shewed an equal Concern to have the accused Persons absolved, if it could be found competible with Justice.

For which Reason it is not doubted, but the two following Letters (one of which contains an Abridgment of the Advocates Speech to the Jury, and the other of their Answers to the Objections of the Confessants Witnesses) will afford a satisfactory View of the chiefeft Part of the Tryal, since the Objections which were or might have been made are therein stated and answered, or anticipated and prevented; and the intended Brevity would not permit at this time to print the whole Process, which being extant upon Record, any who are curious may have easily Access thereunto.

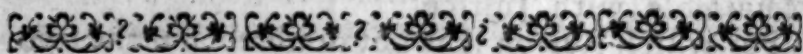


The First Letter.

SIR,

YOU having told me that the odd Passages which occur in the West, have put many of your Neighbours and your self upon reading

all the Books you can get that treat of Witchcraft; and therefore desired to transmit to you my Observations at the Tryal; I shall not prepossess your Opinion, by giving them in my own Form, but herein I send to you the exactest Copy of the Advocate's Speech to the Jury that I could obtain, and by the next Post you shall have something more curious, viz. a Collection of their Answers to the Objections against the Six last Witnesses, that were brought for concluding the Proof; having these you will want little that could be agreeable to such an accurate Palate as yours is.



The Speeches to the Jury were to this Effect.

Goodmen of the Jury,

YOU having sitten above Twenty Hours in hearing the Evidence, and being now to be enclosed, where it is like you will take no small Time to reconsider and compare it; we shall not detain you with summing up the same in particular; but shall only suggest some Things whereof it is fit you take special Notice in your Perusal of it, viz. First the Nature of your own Power, and the Management of it. Secondly, The Object of this Power which lies before you; wherein you are to consider in the first place, whether or not there hath been Witchcraft in the Crimes libelled; and in the next place, whether or not, these Prisoners are the Witches.

As

As to your Power it is certain, —that you are both Judges and Witnesses, by the Opinion of our Lawyers and Custom; Therefore you are called out of the Neighbourhood, as presumed best to know the Quality of the Prisoners, and the Notoriousness of their Guilt or Innocence. Your Oath is, That you shall all Truth tell, and no Truth conceal; which plainly implies, that you are to Condemn or Absolve, according to your own Conscience. Such is the excellent Constitution of Juries in *England*, and ought more especially to hold in this circumstantial Case, where there is such a Chain of different Kinds of Probation concurring against the same Prisoners, as will appear by the Review thereof in its proper Place.

We are not to press you with the ordinary Severity of threatening an Assize of Error, in case you should absolve; but wholly leave you to the Conduct of God and your own Consciences, and desire you may proceed with all the Care of the Prisoners Lives that is possible for you, as the Honourable Judges have set you a Pattern, by their great Caution in this Matter.

As to the Probation it self, you see that it is divided into Three Parts, *viz.* the Extraordinariness of the Crimes; the Probability of the concurring Evidences; and the Clearness of the Positive Probation.

As to the first Part, The Crimes, or *Corpora Delicti*, are proved by unexceptionable Witnesses, to have fallen out in such an odd and extraordinary Manner, that it points out some other Cause than the ordinary Course of Nature, to have produced those Effects.

(For clearing of this, particularly in Relation to *Bargarran's* Daughter, you may consider, not only the extraordinary Things that could not proceed from a Natural Cause, which is proved before
 G 5 you;

you ; but also several other Matters of Fact, which is notorious, have been seen by some of yourselves, and lie here in a Journal of her Sufferings ; every Article whereof is attested by the Subscription of Persons of entire Credit, before the Honourable Commissioners appointed by his Majesty's Privy Council, for making Enquiry into the Matter.

This Girl's throwing out of Hair, Pins and Coals of greater Heat than that of her Body or Blood ; as also so dry that they appeared not to have come out of her Stomach ; nor had she any Motions to Vomit at the same time, and she declared the same to have been put into her Mouth at the same time by her Tormenters, is Deponed by Dr. *Brisban*, in his Opinion not to appear from a natural Cause.

She was not tormented by any of the Criminals after their Imprisonment, except two Nights by *Catherine Campbell*, which being a Surprize, it was afterwards discovered, that these two Nights, the Jaylor's Wife had let out *Catherine Campbell* to Spin in the House.

She having been speaking with one of her Tormenters as present, (though invisible to the Standers by) and asking how her Tormenter had got those clouted Red-Sleeves, she suddainly gets up, takes hold of them, and the Company heard the Noise of the Cloaths tearing, and she pulls away two Pieces of the Red-Cloath, which all the By-standers beheld with Amazement in her Hands ; nor was there any other Piece of this Red-Cloth to be found in the Room at that time.

She told, that her Tormenters were giving her a Glass of Sack, and Orange-Pill, &c. (thereby ensnaring her to accept of a Favour from them) and accordingly she was seen to move her Lips, and to have the Orange-Pill betwixt her Teeth, though there was no visible Hand that could have done it.

She

She advertised before-hand, that one of her Tormenters was to be at the Door at a particular Hour, and that another of them was in the Kitchen, before any Body told her of it, which accordingly fell out; and these being brought to her Presence, became obnoxious to the ordinary Ways and Means of Discovery.

When her Glove fell down from her, at a time that several Persons were about her, it was lifted up again by a Hand invisible to them.

She was not only transported through the Hall and down Stairs, without perceiving her Feet to touch the Ground; but also was hurried in a Flight up Stairs, and when a Minister endeavoured to retain her, he found a sensible Weight, besides her own Strength drawing her from him.

When she complained that her Tormenters had Bitten and Scratched her, the Marks of the Nails and Teeth were seen upon the Skin, with Blood and Spittle, about the Wounds, which were above Twenty Four; which neither her own nor any other Teeth that were visible, could have done.

She was most vehemently distorted upon attempting to tell, or even to write the Names of her Tormenters; yet that ceased as to any of them, as soon as that Person was accused by any other; and particularly she had Liberty after many painful Attempts to accuse *Margaret Laing*, as soon as the Charm of Hair to restrain her (which *Margaret* had left behind the Door) was found and burnt, the Girl having told it to have been lost, as mentioned in the Depositions.

She threw out no more Hair, after the finding and burning of a Ball of Hair, of the same Colour and Kind with that thrown out by the Girl, in *Catherine Campbell's* Pocket with Pins in it.

After

After *Agnes Nailsmith* had prayed for her, she appeared to her, but did not torment her.

She foretold that her Tormenters had concerted to throw her, at a certain Hour, in a Fit, (which they forewarned her of, with a Design to frighten her, to renounce her Baptism by the Terror) and had left one of their Number to execute it; and accordingly there was a Woman with a Red-Coat, seen under the Tree in the Orchard; and the Torment was brought on at the time appointed.

When she told that there was something tormenting her under the Cloaths, the Spectators saw the Bed-Cloaths move in an extraordinary Manner, after the Girl had been raised out of them.

When she complained that she was beaten, the Strangers by heard the Noise of the Stripes.

She cried out at a Time, that her Thigh was hurt, and one of the Company having searched her Pocket, found a clasped Knife, but unfolded; however having folded up the same, and put it up, a second Time she cried out of the same again; and upon the second Search (though secured by the Spring) it was found open, to the great Wonder of the Beholders; since they watched that no visible Thing could have possibly opened it.

She told of a Charm under the Bed, and accordingly it was found in the Shape of an Egg, which melted away it being put into the Fire. She told also, that her Sister that was boarded abroad, had Charms put about her in the House, and would not recover of the decaying Sickness till she was brought out of it, and accordingly the Child being brought home, straight way recovered.

She told of their meeting in *Bargairan's* Yard, to consult about the destroying of her; and accordingly the Confessants have deposed, that they did meet and consult her Ruin in that Place.

The

The Story about her telling, that the Commissioners, though at Three Miles distance, had granted a Warrant to the Sheriff to apprehend One of her Tormenters; her giving so perfect an Account of the Sheriff, and of Mr. *Guithrie* who was with him, whilst her Eyes were sealed and fast; her being in Excessive Torments (as she foretold) till that Person was apprehended, and immediately thereupon, though at many Miles distance, her telling that her Tormenters were now taken, betwixt Twelve and One a Clock in the Morning; and the Sheriff when he returned, declared the Seifure to have been about that Time, is so notorious and so well attested, that we need only to be put in mind of it.

Her falling in Fits upon the Sight or Touch of her Tormenters, was no Effect of Imagination; for she was fully hoodwinked with a Cloak, so that she could see no Body whatever; yet upon the Approach of her Tormenter, she immediately fell down dead; whereas she did not so much as startle upon the Touch of another. Which Experiment was tried for ascertaining this Method of Discovery.

In the last place, she is naturally sagacious and discovering, and shewed her Integrity in the Face of the Court. For when the President asked, whether or not she knew one of the Prisoner's Names that was to be pricked, she answered, that though she knew her well enough of her self, yet one had told her the Name of this Prisoner, when she was sent for to appear with her Face to Face; so far did the Girl discover her Aversion from any Thing that might seem intended to aid the Natural Evidence of Truth unfairly; and her Firmness to the utmost against Temptations of becoming a Witch; particularly against the last Assault of Satan, wherein he at least perswaded her to go to their Meetings; and she answered,
That

That she would not follow such a base fallen Creature; and he rejoining, that she would go to Hell however for her other Sins; and she answering, That he was a Liar from the Beginning, and the Blood of Jesus would cleanse her from all Iniquity; upon which he disappeared, and she recovered the Sabbath Day following, when a happy End was put to this fearful Tragedy of Witchcraft, and convincingly confirmed the Reality of it.

As to the Murthering of the Children and Minister, charged in the Indictment, you may observe several extraordinary Things appearing in them; particularly the Witnesses depone, the Minister to have been in excessive Torments, and of an unusual Colour; to have been of sound Judgment, and yet he told of several Women about him, and that he heard the Noise of the Door opening, when none else heard it. The Children were well at Night, and found dead in the Morning, with a little Blood on their Noses, and Blewness at the Root of their Ears, which were obvious Symptoms of Strangling; besides the Mother of one of them cried out *Matthew, Matthew*, the Child is Dead. And the House of the other was whitened with Sifting of Meal the Night before; both which Particulars were told and discovered by the Confessants, before the Witnesses, which now concur with them in it, were examined.

Secondly, The second Part of the Probation consists of several admirable Things, and corroborating Evidence proved by unsuspected Witnesses, which lead us to suspect those Prisoners to be Witches, as so many Lines drawn from a Circumference to a Centre, and positively confirming the positive Probation after added to them. In general we need not mention all these necessary Circumstances, but refer you to the Probation which

which is so full concerning it; only you will be pleased to take notice, that it is clearly proved, that all the Accused have insensible Marks, and some of them in an extraordinary Manner: That most of them have been long reputed Witches, and some of them in 1687, by a Confessing Witch, which Subscribed Confession hath been produced. You see that none of them shed Tears, nor were they ever discovered to do it since their Imprisonment, notwithstanding their frequent Howlings; so that it is not a sudden Grief or Surprise. And finally that the Girl fell in Fits of Torment upon the Prisoners Approach to her, and that she named them all frequently either in or out of her Fits.

In particular, you see how *Catherine Campbell* was provoked, by this Girl's discovering her Theft; whereupon she hath brought in the rest of her Confederates to act the following Mischief; How upon this *Campbell* did Curse and Imprecate in a terrible manner; how she stayed out of her Bed at Night, and was frequently drowsie in the Morning; how she was named by the Girl, particularly the two Nights she was out of Prison; The Ball of Hair was taken out of her Pocket and burnt, upon which the Girl ceased to void Hair at her Mouth; she could not express one Word, even when she was on her Knees, of Prayer for the Girl's Recovery; and the insensible Marks on her were very remarkable.

Agnes Naismith did not torment the Girl after she had prayed for her; she was reputed a Witch and hath the Marks. She came early in the Morning to *Bargarran's* Yard, when by her refusing to go in, it appeared she had no Business; Yea it is plain, that she had a Resentment because she had not a greater Alms the last time she was there. The Girl declared, that *Naismith* asked about her Health and Age, which in these Circumstances, was

was a shrewd Presumption of her ill Design; and she acknowledged her self to have done this, when she asked the Age of another Child, wherein by Providence she was fooled; since that which she thought would have been an Excuse, tended to discover her Guilt. And lastly, after this Appearance of *Agnes Naismith*, the Girl took her first Fit, and nominated her amongst the first Tormenters.

Margaret Laing, that great Impostor, had been a Master-piece of the Devil; she hath Confessed unnatural Lust, which is known to some of your Number. She sat near the Door where the Charm of Hair was found, which the Girl declared kept up her Tongue; and upon burning the same, it was loosed. The Girl fell in Fits upon her Approach, she hath notable Marks; particularly one which the Confessants declare she lately received, and by Inspection it appears to be new. When she came from her private Conversation (no doubt with the Devil) she raged as if she had been possessed, and could not but declare, that she expected a violent Death. She looked in the Face of *James Miller's* Child, and asked her Age, whereupon that Child sickened the same Night, and named *Margaret Laing* on her Death-Bed. It appears she was ready to show to *James Laird* a Sight of her Mother, who had been dead Three Years. And finally, she hath been taken in several Lies and gross Prevarications; particularly you may remember, how Six Hours ago, when the Witnesses were Examined on the Ball of Hair found on *Catherine Campbel*, a Gentleman, *Mr. Stewart* of——, heard her whisper *Catherine* in the Ear, this is well bestowed on you, you would not put it away when I desired you, &c. which the said *Mr. Stewart* did openly Confess in Court upon Oath. Notwithstanding which this impudent Wretch had the Confidence to deny it, though

Catherine

Catherine Campbel also confessed, that she had pulled her, and had spoke somewhat to her, which she did not give Ear to, which was no wonder, the Witnesses deponing at the Time, being close upon *Catherine*.

Margaret Fulton was reputed a Witch, and hath the Mark of it ; and acknowledged in presence of her Husband, that she made use of a Charm, which appeared full of small Stones and Blood. That her Husband had brought her back from the *Fairies*, and her Repute of being a Witch is of old Date ; besides her being named often by the bewitched Girl.

As to the *Lindsay's* they all have the Mark ; and were all of a long time reputed to be Witches. *John Lindsay* of *Barlock*, was accidentally discovered by the Girl's falling into a Fit, upon his coming into the House. *John* and *James Lindsay's* were accused by a confessing Witch Anno 1687. which Confession is publickly read before you, and there was Money given to the Sheriff deputed, for the delaying of the Pursuit. *James Lindsay* appeared to *William Simpson* suddenly, and flew about like a Fowl, for an Opportunity to strike him, in revenge of the Quarrel mentioned in the Deposition, and at last prevailed to strike him dead over a Wall. And finally, which is a Remarkable Indication both of Truth and Providence, the very Witnesses brought in the Defence of the *Lindsays*, deposed so clearly against them, even beyond the Prosecutors Witnesses, that their Advocate was surprized at it, and thereupon desisted from calling any more Witnesses to be examined in their Defence.

It is true some of these Indications may be in one and others of them in another, either from Nature or Accident, and yet that Person not be a Witch : But it was never heard nor read, that all these Indications, which are so many Discoveries by
Provi-

Providence, of a Crime that might otherwise have remained in the Dark, did ever concur in one and the same individual Person that was innocent: Yea, on the Contrary, they by the Wisdom and Experience of all Nations, do as convincingly discover a Witch, as the Symptoms of a Leprosy concerted by all Physitians, argue the Person affected with the same to be leprous; yet granting they are not sufficient of themselves, yet their Tendency and Meaning being clearly applyed to their proper Cause, by a plain and positive Probation, there wants no more to determine you as to the Prisoners Guilt. And therefore,

Thirdly, As to the Third Part of the Probation, we remit the positive Depositions of the Confessants, and against whom they do concur, wholly to your own Perusal, and Examination. Only be pleased to take Notice, First, Some things which very much add to the Credibility of their Testimonies, arise from their Examination in Court: Secondly we shall explain to you the Import of the Word *Nota*, which is added to the Decree of the Judges, admitting these last Witnesses.

As to the First.

Elizabeth Anderson is of sufficient Age being Seventeen, yet so young and punctual, that her Deposition appears to be no Effect of Melancholy; she accused her Father to his Face when he was a dying in the Prison; as now there are two of her Aunts in the Indictment, which certainly must proceed from the Strength of Truth, since even *Dives* retained a natural Affection to his Relations. She went on Foot to the Meetings with her Father, except only that the Devil transported them over the River of *Clyde*, which was easy to the Prince of the Air, who does far greater Things by his Hurricanes. She tells that *Montgomery's* House was *Mealy* when his Child was strangled; and she declares

declares that she never renounced her Baptism, but was carried along by the Compulsion of a Parent, so that nothing can be objected against her Testimony, in any Judgment, much less in an accepted Crime.

James Lindsay, it is true is of less Import, yet by his weeping, when he came in and was admonished of the Greatness of his Guilt, it appears he had a Sense of it; He hath a natural Precipitancy in what he speaks, yet that is commonly the Concomitant of Ingenuity, as importing his Expressions not to be fore-thought. He concurs in most Things with the Others, and yet he declares he saw not *Margaret Fulton* at *Dunbarton*, &c. which implies that he does not foil the Prisoners at Random, but tells what occurred to his Senses, &c.

Jennet and *Margaret Rogers*, are Instances of a Singular Providence; for they did confess the same Morning that the Court did last sit, of their own proper Motion, there being neither Ministers nor Judges at that time by them. *Agnes Naismith* is *Jennet's* Relation, and she tells that she never saw *Catharine Campbell*, as *Margaret* declares she did not see *John Lindsay* of *Barlock*; which plainly demonstrates, that they tell only the Dictates of their natural Conscience arising from Discretion and Knowledge of the True Matters of Fact, they both professed their Repentance last Sabbath in the Church, and do persist with a great Firmness, and you see their Deportment in their Depositions to be agreeable and exact.

Thomas Lindsay and *Christian Shaw* being under Age, we did not press their being put to an Oath, yet you saw that they did declare in Court against these Criminals, in such an Harmony with the rest of the Deponents, and gave such a Cause of their Knowledge, that it is certain, that their Youngness of Years adds a great Deal of Credit to their Testimony,

Testimony, because thereby it is incredible they could have contrived or executed the acting so by Concert.

As to the Second,

Since these Witnesses are admitted by the Judges, it necessarily implies, that they meant them to be *Probative*; only they added the Words *cum Nota*, that is, you must take notice, or *Notandum est*, that there must something else concur to prove the Guilt of the Prisoners, besides the Depositions of any two Witnesses such as these; but so it is that all the circumstantial Evidence on which you have seen Probation led, for more than Sixteen Hours of your Time, are strengthening Evidences of those Witnesses Credibility, and cannot but have been taken Notice of by you, as inferring the same Things which they Deposed, whereby the *Nota* is fully taken off by the Concurrence of Four other positive Testimonies, agreeing with that of Two of these Witnesses, by the Extraordinariness of the Deceased Persons; by the Probability of Circumstances, and finally by the whole Chain of this Affair, and the Sparkles of an infernal Fire, which in every Place hath broke out.

It is true, there are some few of the Circumstances, that are proved only by one Witness; but as to this you may consider, First, That a Witness Deponing concerning Matter of Fact, is in Law credited more than any other single Witness; and this is the present Case as to some of the Circumstances. Secondly the Antecedent, Concomitant and Subsequent Circumstances of Fact do sustain the Testimony, and make the single Evidence more full. But thirdly, The other Circumstances, undoubtedly proved by concurring Witnesses, are of themselves sufficient; and therefore you saw us at the Desire of the Judges, forbear to call the far greatest Part of our Witnesses;

nesses; because the Time had already run to so great a Length, and it was thought that Presumptions enough were already proved; for it may as reasonably be imagined, that the most reasonable and curious Scheme had emerged from the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, roving without Rule, as that so many Indications should centre against each of these Prisoners, and yet they remain Innocent of Witchcraft.

Now upon the whole you will take Notice, that Presumptions being vehement, make a more certain Probation than Witnesses; because Presumptions are Natural Emanations of the Thing it self, which cannot be bribed; whereas Witnesses are obnoxious. So in our Law there was One condemned for Theft, another for Falshood, and a Third for Murthering of a Child, merely upon Presumptions, as Mr. *Mackenzie* relates in his Criminal Treatise; much more may Presumptions add to the Credit of, and take off the *Nota*, from, positive Witnesses; for it is a gross Mistake, that several Proofs, which have each of them some Import, may not be joined to make a full Evidence, the same way as two small Candles in a dark Room will not suffice; yet several others being added to them, will make a sufficient Light to discover the Murtherer; Two Boys will be able to carry a Weight which one of them would not be able to sustain, as two Units make a full Number. One Witness of whatsoever Dignity proves nothing; yet out of the Mouth of Two or Three Witnesses, every Truth shall be established; and finally though one Coal make not a Fire able to do the Work, yet several Coals added to it encrease the Flame, which is hoped will be sufficient for the Operation.

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We shall therefore leave you with this Conclusion, that as you ought to be cautious in Condemning the Innocent, and ought to incline to the safest Side ; so if these Prisoners be proved legally Guilty, then as to what is past, your Eye ought not to spare them, nor ought you to suffer a Witch to live ; and as to the future, in doing otherwise you would be accessory to all the Blaphemies, Apostacies, Murthers, Tortures and Seductions, &c. whereof these Enemies of Heaven and Earth shall hereafter be Guilty, when they are set at Liberty. So that the Question seems simply to come to this, whether upon your Oath you can Swear, That the Prisoners, notwithstanding all that is proved against them, are not Guilty of Witchcraft ? In the Determination whereof we pray, God may direct you to the right Course.

The Jury being enclosed near Six Hours, brought in their Verdict to Court, that they found the Indictment.

I am, &c.

The

*The Second LETTER.*

S I R,

I Have collected according to my Promise, what appeared to me most Specious in the Reasonings, either in Court or private Conversation, about receiving the Confessants as Witnesses. You are not to imagin that the Prisoners were condemned on the Credit of these; for I do believe the Probation by unexceptionable Witnesses, led antecedent to this last, was so pregnant, that the Prisoners might have been condemned on it; though these last had not been adduced.

I may have missed the Energy of the Argument sometimes, in a Case which in it self is so abstruse; however you have it in such a manner as I was able to comprehend it, as follows.

In order to the more satisfactory answering of the Objections made against the last Witnesses, we shall first lay before you the State of the Case; and then clear up the Determination of it.

As to the First, The Question is not whether Partners in the Crime, or others mentioned in the Objections can be a concluding Proof in themselves, though two of them should concur as to the same Act of Witchcraft: But whether

ther the Bodies of the Persons Deceased appearing already to imply Witchcraft, and the extrinsick Presumptions being so Strong and Pregnant, to infer that these Prisoners are the Witches? There concurring such Characters, as by the Observation of all Ages and Nations are the Symptoms of a Witch, particularly the Marks, Fame, not Shedding of Tears, &c. which are Providential Discoveries of so dark a Crime, that like Avenues lead us to the Secret of it. And finally, when Six Persons of different Ages and Stations, Five Confessants, and the Girl, do, when separately examined, agree in their Answers to every Material Question that is put to them though it be even new; so that it could not be concerted; we say, in such a Case whether or not Witnesses may be received to compleat the Evidence by a Positive Probation, of a Matter of Fact which is the Object of Sense, though otherwise they be liable to Exception; if such Extraordinariness of the Persons who suffered, Clearness of the Circumstances, and of the Diagnosticks of the Witches did not precede them, as you have seen it proved that they do.

The Case is not, whether these Witnesses would be good in an ordinary Crime, which commonly happens to be exposed to other Witnesses, than those concerned in it; but whether they can be received in this Extraordinary occult Case, and excepted Crime of Witchcraft; in which there are two special Cases to be considered, *Viz.* sometimes the Acts thereof are open, and admit the Choice of Witnesses, such as Charms used in the Day time, when the Actor is visible. But that Part of Witches whereby Witches meet in the Night time, adore their Lord, contrive their Mischievous Designs, and accordingly afterwards put them in Execution, when other Witnesses are a-sleep, or the Witches themselves are covered from

from Sight, we say, this can be no otherwise proved than by these that are privy to it, joined to the positive Proofs and Presumptions before-mentioned.

We do not alledge that Persons altogether destitute of Knowledge, and Natural Conscience are to be admitted in any Case; such as Infants, Mad, Foolish Persons, &c. neither do we contend that *Thomas Lindsay, Christian Shaw*, who are under Age should be put to their Oath; but they are only to be examined separately before the Court, upon Queries, by which it may appear, whether or not they agree with the Four other Confessants that are to Depone before them; and this is the Prisoner's Advantage in Case of Disagreement: But we insist that any Person above Nonage, giving Evidence of considerable Knowledge and Natural Conscience (which is a sufficient Fund for all the Credit we want in this Case, which is already almost fully proved) is to be received as a Witness.

As to the Second, we shall make this as clear as Noon-Day; First from Reason and the Nature of the Thing: Secondly, the unanimous Judgment of Lawyers in all Nations and Ages: Thirdly, our own Customs and Decisions: And Fourthly the Singularity of this Circumstantial Case.

As to the First, The Going to and Coming from Meetings, especially on foot; the falling down and Worshipping the Devil there, under a Corporal Shape (which he had when he tempted our Saviour to do it;) The usual Murthering of Children, by a Cord and Napkin, and the Tormenting of others by Pins, &c. are plain Objects of Sense; and therefore the Senses are to be believed concerning them; for as Reason hath Things Intelligible, and Faith Things Supernatural; so the Senses have Things Corporeal to their Object, in respect of which they

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are to be trusted, until it be proved, that the Appearance is impossible, or that the Witness of it is an Impostor. It is Part of the Witches Purchase from the Devil, that they cannot be seen on some Occasions; so that the Abominations committed then would remain unpunished, if such Witnesses were not admitted. It cannot be thought that Witches (who of all Criminals are most backwards to Confess) would venture the Loss of their own Lives, by deponing against others, against whom they have no special Pique, yea for whom they have particular Affection, as several of the Prisoners are some of the Witnesses Relations. Nor hath the Devil any peculiar Interest to instigate them thereunto; for several of the Prisoners have confessed other execrable Crimes, whereby it cannot be supposed, that Satan would be divided against himself. God in his ordinary Providence hath taken such Care of publick Judgments, that the Enemy of Justice's special Power ceases as to that; as appears by the Witches either being not able either to do more Harm, or to escape, after God's Ministers begin to act contrary to Satan's Instruments by Imprisonment: And finally the Oddness of the Crimes, the Concurrence of the Presumptions, and the Existence of Matters of Fact, wherein these Confessants (though not knowing the same otherwise) do agree with other unexceptionable Evidences, &c. which sufficiently add to their Credibility: But as Falshood being a Crime is never presumed; so a Person found true in many Things, is still presumed to continue such, till the contrary be evinced.

As to the Second, *Socius Criminis, &c. admittitur si delictum sit nefandum, Men. A. J. Q. l. 2d. l. C. cas. 474. N. 27. Seq. aut occultum & veritas aliunde haberi non possit. Mas. Vol. 1. Con. 466. N. 6. aut difficilis Probationis, Farin. lib. 2. Op. Criminalium, Tit.*

*Tit. 6. Q. 63. N. 28. Mas. Vol. 3. Con. 1360. N. 4. Menoch. lib. 2. Cas. 116. l. 1. Q. 58. nocturno tempore commissa quæ difficilis dicuntur Probationis. Boer. decis. 68. N. 6. Menoch. D. Cas. 116. N. 14. Ideoq; non solum præsumptio & conjecturata probatio sufficit, verum inhabiles admittuntur, Farin l. 2. Tit. 6. Q. 55. N. 40. Mas. l. 2. Con. 1124. N. 13. Idem in delictis commissis in Eremito, Nemore, Monte aliore loco secreto. Gomez. Var. res Tom 3. l. 12. N. 21. Far. D. Tit. 6. Q. 62. N. 55. Sed occultum non dicitur, quod actu non Intervenerint, at quod de Natura delicti vel Ratione loci & temporis alii testes habiles intervenire non poterint : ut est Malefictum in quo socius Criminis admittitur. Men. l. 2. Cap. 5. Cas. 474. N. 33. Campeg. te teste Reg. 86. Fallew. 6. Crotus de Test. Part. 4. N. 97. Oldindorp. de Test. tit. de Personis test. N. 21. In a word; all Lawyers who have writ particular Treatises on Witchcraft, in Germany, Italy, Lovain, France and Spain, &c. do conclude, that inhabil Witnesses, and particularly Companions are to be admitted in Witchcraft, only the strictest of them do think, that this Admission is to be cum Nota, or as Delrio, in the Place cited for the Prisoners expresses it; *ex his solis*; upon this Evidence alone, the Judge is not to Condemn, nor do we require it.*

As to the Third, We have the Testimony of our Famous K. James the VIth, *Demon. lib. 3. C. ult.* telling us, That it is our Law, that Boys, Girls, Infamous Persons, &c. are not to be rejected any more in Witchcraft, than in humane Majesty, though they assert others to have been present at Imaginary Meetings; because this supposes their having entered into a Precontract. He says, that Satan's Mark, and the Want of Tears are Pregnant aids to the Discovery. He gives an Instance of a Girl, who having named several Witches in her Fits, they were all Condemned upon other concurring Presump-

tions. This is not a common Author, but a Man, who, as curious, was exact; and as Prudent did not publish such Things, without the Approbation of the best Divines and Lawyers; and as a Prince is to be credited about the Law of his own Country, and as a King hath determined any Doubt that might have remained in this Point, as far as the Law of our Government will permit.

But further, our Lawyers and Judges have followed his Majesty; for in all the Processes in the Journals, Fame, and Accusation, and the Mark, are still sustained as most Pregnant Presumptions; upon which, and a very small Foundation besides, Witches have been frequently condemned. So in the Processes against the Bewitchers of Sir George Maxwell of Pollock, and Hamilton of Barus, Anno. 1677. One that was a Companion in the Crime, though under Age, is sustained to be a Witness. And Witnesses are adduced before the Jury for proving, that the Mark was found upon some of the Witches. Women and Minors have been received by Multitudes of Decisions cited by *Mc. Kenzie, Tit. Prob. By Witnesses* and *Tit. Witchcraft*. And he also cites Decisions, where, in parallel Cases, Companions in Crimes, and others *inhabile* were admitted, particularly in Treason and in Falshood; and all Lawyers conclude, that Witchcraft is as much an excepted Crime as these.

As to the Fourth, Whatever Inhability these Witnesses might be under, it is fully made up, and they rendered unexceptionably *habile*, by the Train of this whole Business. It is true one Man, through the Concurrence of Corrosive Humours, may have an insensible Mark; another be enviously defamed; a Third may through sudden Grief or Melancholy, not be able to Weep, &c. A fourth may be loaded with Suspicious Circumstances, when extraordinary Things fell

fell out in the Country; and a Fifth may be Deponed against by two False Witnesses; tho' none of these separately may be truly Witches. But by the known Observation and Experience of Mankind, none except Witches have had the unhappy Medley and Concourse of all or most of these, and commonly and for the most part Witches have them: So that since the Rules of Justice are established upon that, which for the most part happens, that prevails till an Exception be apparent in a special Case; the Conjunction of these, does as plainly give his Character, as the most certain Symptoms of the plainest Disease, being universally Concerted in all Parts of the World, point out to us that the Person Affected is truly afflicted with that Disease, whereof he hath the Diagnostick Symptoms concurring. In a word, one or other of these may occur in the Innocent; but no Writers do attest, that all of them have centered in any other Person but a Witch. And on the other hand, their taking Place in a Witch, through all Parts of the World must proceed from a Common, and not from a peculiar Humour or Cause.

The Specifick Aptitude of some of the Nicest Indications, which appeared from the Probation already led, to discover a Witch, do serve to clear the Ground of the World's Observation concerning them. Particularly the Devil, as aping God, imprints a Sacrament of his Covenant. Besides that, commonly this Mark being given at the first Meeting, does by its intolerable Pain, force the Witch to a Second Meeting or Rendezvous for curing it, at which the poor Wretch being under this furious Necessity, fixes the Bargain by renewing it with Deliberation, having been diverted in the mean time from considering the Horridness of the first Engagement by the Pain. The Inability to shed Tears, may be a Characteristick

of hardening, though not always in the Case of Christians, yet in these that have ceased to be such, lest the Devil giving them such Words of Scripture and Prayer as many have, it should be impossible to discover their Hypocrisie; and that is not Satan's own Interest, since by this Discovery Occasion is given to buffoon the Profession of Holiness. A Report often arises without Ground, but a constant Report that keeps footing, implies for the most part a surer Cause; especially when it is of Persons below Envy, and by Persons above Calumny. The Girl's falling in Fits at the Appearance of the Prisoners might appear from Antipathy, arising from the Poisonous Steams of the Witch accustomed to produce that Effect, through a vertue affixed thereunto by the Devil, by Conjunction of Natural Causes, (the same way as the invisible Pestilence operates) or his Promise of casting the Girl in Fits at the Witches Presence, might have been general; whereby the Witch was in Event buffooned and discovered, as it often falls out; but Satan envies even their Temporal Felicity, and fears lest by continuing here, they should be plucked out of his Hands by Conversion; when they come to perceive the Delusion of his Promises to make them Rich, &c.

There was one Thing further which was tried before their Lordship's, *viz.* none of the Prisoners who were tried (though most Sagacious and Knowing, and perfect in Memory, so that it could not proceed from Ignorance or Forgetfulness) could make out the Attempt of saying the Lord's Prayer, which may either be a Secret Judgment for renouncing their Lord, from whom it is peculiarly denominated, or by Restraint of their new Lord, who may think that too special Homage to his Adversary.

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But we have been too tedious in that which may seem not so necessary; for this being an incontrovertible Law and Custom, there is no need of Philosophy to support it; since Legislators reason, but Subjects must obey; and both the Fool and the Lazy (who have neither Read nor Thought enough to understand this Subject) are to be left to their own *Chimera's*; yet lest they should insult, we shall Answer briefly such Objections as the Prisoner's Advocate thought any ways worthy to be repeated in this Place.

Whereas it is Objected, that *Delrio Sect. 5. Less. 4.* says, That Companions are not to be admitted Witnesses in respect of Condemnation, especially considering that the Probation ought to be, clearer than the Meridian Sun.

It is answered, That the Place it self confutes this Inference in the present Case; for it says, That this Evidence is not sufficient to warrant Condemnation; I know the contrary is commonly maintained and practised, &c. So that it is evident, First, That the common Opinion and Custom is contrary; even when there is no other Proof, but by the Partners of the Crime. Yet, Secondly, We are not so straitned, but presume in his very Words, that by this Evidence alone, we desire not that the Prisoners should be condemned. But your Lordships see, that the Witnesses we bring are not only such as were Concomitants of the Fact; for the Proofs brought these last Sixteen Hours are so many Concomitants and Discoveries of Providence, which make up any Defect in their Credit that can be desired. Hence, Thirdly, The Meaning of that Axiom, (which is Metaphorical, as appears by the Words, clearer than the Meridian Light) is fully answered, and takes Place in the present Case. Form the Extraordinariness of the Persons Afflicted, the Pregnancy of the Presumption, and the

the Punctualness of the positive Proof being joined together, there is not a Clearer Proof upon Record in any Nation, than that to which, it is hoped, these will amount.

Whereas this Allegation is enforced, by pretending it were of dangerous Consequence to allow such Witnesses to prove Meeting with the Devil, since Satan might have represented others by their false Shapes.

It is Answered,

First, That we are not straitened in this, because there are many Articles proved, which could not have been falsified. But if we give some scope to Reasoning, even in this Point it is to be considered, that the Rules of Judgment are established upon that, which for the most part still prevails; and Rules are to be followed, till an Exception be proved in a particular circumstance Case. But so it is by the Experience and Observation of the Wisest Divines, Lawyers, Philosophers, Physicians, States-Men, Judges and Historians, at Home and Abroad (that are too Wise to be imposed upon, and too Ingenuous to deceive us, when they all concur in the same Matter of Fact) besides the Testimony of Witches themselves every where, makes the Apparitions of Witches to be commonly and most real. So *Delrio* tells us, *Lib. 5. Sect. 16.* It seldom happens that they are deceived: And therefore the Testimony of the Senses is always to be credited concerning them, till it be disproved. For single or few Instances of false Representations to the Senses esteeming them to be true, or a Possibility of Appearance being false, can no ways invalidate the Rule established upon Experience, which is common, and for the most part, whereby no Exception is to be proved in a special Case; since a Wonder does not subvert the Proof drawn from the common Course of Nature.

Logick

Logick admits not to argue *a particulari*, or from Possibility to Existence. Law puts the Burthen of proving Simulation on the Affirmer, and that which seldom occurs is not considered by Legislators.

For illustrating of which it is further to be considered, that for the most part and commonly, Witches are personally existent in the Places where they appear, because it is more easie for the Prince of the Air, to transport them in his Hurricanes, which he can raise, as is plain in the Instance of *Job* (who was put in his Power) forming a Fence upon their Face, by which the Violence of the Air may be diverted from choaking them, than to form the Curious Miniature of various Transactions on their Brain: The Difficulty whereof is the greater, that all their Extasies are not disposed at all times the same way; and they have not the Seeds of this Work, unless they had once acted it in Reality. It is both the greater Crime and Pleasure to act in Reality, which therefore the Devil and Witches do rather chuse (unless the Place be far distant, or the Person indisposed) and this in Fact is attested to be so, by the Writers and Witches in all Nations and Ages.

Secondly, Notwithstanding the Rule must hold, till an Exception to make it void be evinced, as to a particular Person, by making it evident, that the real Appearance was in that special Case, a true Mistake; yet this Exception is for the Safety of the misrepresented; since the same Providence which hath permitted the Affliction, will order the Out-gate and Way to make it void; either by the Aerial Bodies not abiding the Touch, or some other Distinction; as Providence commonly allows the Devil to personate only with Cloven-Foot; or that the Apparition was only to one single Person, who cannot be a Proof, or that the Inno-

cent can prove this otherwise; or finally the known Character of a *Samuel* will purge and dispel the Aspersions of Satan, contrived on purpose to discredit the Evidence of Sense, by which alone his Instruments can be discovered. Especially this Character being joined to the other Circumstances of the Providence; such as when Men are disguised, they are most passive in the Scene and Presumptions. Whereas Witches are personally active in their common Life by such Words and Deeds, as (in Conjunction with these Appearances) conspire to make us know and distinguish them from the truly Good; since these Witches are Prophaneness, Naughtiness, and undiscerned Hypocrisy, being made evident by Fame, sealed and confirmed by the Mark, and the other Discoveries of the Presumptions, which I have proved before you, still make a Land-Mark betwixt the Children of Darkness and Light. So *Delrio Lib. 5. Sect. 16. N. 5.* tells us of *St. Athanasius* and *St. Germanus* against whom Proof was brought of Sorcery; but Providence disproved it. It is a famous Instance of *Susanna* represented by the Elders, which though not in the Case of Spectre, yet agrees in point of Reason. The Representation by *Pharaoh's* Magicians had Concomitants by which they were discovered and confounded. But lastly, Suppose that God in the Depth of his Wisdom (to convince the Error of too much self Confidence) should permit all necessary Probation to concur against an Innocent Person; yet the Judge following the Faith of Proofs, established by Divine and humane Laws, is altogether Innocent. And since this Case is very rare, the Evil is less than the establishing of a Principle, by which most of all these Monsters could not be cut off.

Upon the whole 'tis certain, that though often times false Witnesses set on by the Devil, have
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taken away a harmless Life, by accusing it of Crimes; yet the Testimony of Witnesses must still be credited, till they be made evident; so these Apparitions of Witches, with the other Specialities before mentioned, being proved, ought to be esteemed real, till the Fallacy be made evident, especially since there are Examples in Antient and Modern Histories of Satan's representing the best of Men, as committing Murder, &c. in their proper Shape. So *Delrio Lib. 5. Sect. 16. N. 5.* relates, That *St. Sylvanus* was represented by the Devil, committing Common Capital Crimes, and the like of a Monk Whereof there are several Modern parallel Instances, yet this cannot weaken the Rule and Faith of publick Judicatures, founded on no more than the like Appearances; and any Argument against the Proof in Witchcraft, will equally hold against the Proof of any other Crime whatever. Wherefore the Rules of them both must be common, as to believing the Senses fortified as above, till their Error be individually discovered.

Finally, the Certainty is no ways diminished by the Extraordinariness of the Appearance to the Senses; for in Law and Nature, Reality and not Simulation is presumed, till the contrary be made appear, by proving the Thing not possible in Nature, or though it be possible that it is actually false. This is Answer enough to those who place a great deal of their small Wit in a Nonsensical arguing against all Divine Authority. But Writers further illustrate, that the Extraordinariness of a Matter of Fact, does not exclude its Reality from being the Subject of the Testimony of Witnesses, in our Saviour's Transfigurations, Miracles, walking on the Waters, standing in the Midst of the Disciples whilst the Doors were shut, and arguing Assurance by their Senses, that a Spirit had not Flesh and Bones, though indeed,

indeed, the surer Word of Prophecy put these beyond Doubt.

Nor could it be alledged for the Prisoners (though they had the last Word, as perhaps they have not, in Objection against Witnesses, since therein they were Actors, by attacking the presumed Hability, of the Legality of the Witnesses) that it is not conceivable how the Girl or Witnesses could see what the Standers by could not behold. Besides the Impossibility of the Real Bodies entring at close Doors and Windows, or not intercepting the Sight of what is at its back.

For to this it would be answered,

First, Proved Facts must not be denied, though Philosophers are not yet certainly acquainted with the Invisible Manner of their Existence. So in Nature, the Load-stone draws the Iron, the Compass turns always to the North-Pole, &c. in Scripture the Angels (and the Devil was once such, retaining as yet his Natural Powers) smote the *Sodomites*, that they could not see the Door, though they saw the House. *Balaam's* Ass perceived the Angel that stood undiscovered to himself; and the Rod thrown down by the Magicians of *Aegypt* was no doubt seen by themselves, though invisible to the Standers by; which obscuring of their Eyes, Interpreters explain to have been done by Natural Means; and yet the manner thereof is certainly difficult.

However it is also certain, that if a possible way can be proposed, the Reality of a proved Fact is not to be contradicted; and this can be done in the present Case. For

Secondly, Satan's Natural Knowledge and acquired Experience makes him perfect in Opticks and Limning; besides that, as a Spirit he excels in Strength and Agility, whereby he may easily Bewitch the Eyes of others, to whom he intends that his Instruments should not be seen in this manner

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ner as was formerly hinted, *viz* he constricts the Pores of the Witche's Vehicle, which intercepts a Part of the Rays reflecting from her Body; he condenses the inter-jacent Air with grosser Meteors blown into it, or otherwise violently moves it, which drowns another part of the Rays. And lastly, He obstructs the Optick Nerves, with Humours stirred towards them. All which joined together may easily intercept the whole Rays reflecting from these Bodies, so as to make no Impression upon the Common Sense. And yet at the same time by a Refraction of the Rays, gliding along the fitted sides of the Volatile Couch, in which Satan transports them, and thereby meeting and coming to the Eye, as if there were nothing interjacent, the Wall or Chair behind the same Bodies, may be seen; as a piece of Money lying out of Sight in a Cup, becomes visible as soon as the Medium is altered by pouring some Water on it. Several of the Persons present knew, that the Girl declared, that she saw and heard the Doors and Windows open when the Witches entered, when no Doubt Satan had precondensed a soft Stoppage on the Eyes and Ears of others, to whom that was unperceived.

So *Apolinus* escaped *Domitian's* Sight, and *Giger* became invisible by his Magical Ring. *John* of *Salisbury* tells us of a Witch, that could make any Thing Invisible, and *Mejerus* tells us of another that had the like Power. Some *Italian* Witches of greater than ordinary Wit confessed to *Grilandus*, the Devil's opening Doors and Windows for them, though the more Ignorant by a Fascination, think themselves Actors of it. Whence it ought not to be doubted, by any Reasonable Man, what in all Times and Places is such undeniable Fact.

Finally, The Prisoners could not insist, that those Confessants are to Depone only on their Imagi-

Imaginations, which can prove no more against themselves or others than a Dream.

For still it is to be minded, that there are other Proofs, to which this is only accessory, as a Consonant Circumstance. But further, for Argument sake it is answered; That all the Allegation is a Mistake, seeing they declare plain Matters of Fact, obvious not only to one, but several of their Senses. Some of them went the greatest Part of the way to these Meetings on Foot; they there saw and touched their Confederates; they heard their Combinations to destroy the Infants, the Girl, and the Ministers. They returned on Foot again, and even when they were carried there, or back again, they knew on the next Day, that it was no Dream, by the same way that all other Mortals discover the Difference; but moreover this was confirmed by some reall Effects of a Personal Presence, as you have seen in the Probation; and it is yet further cleared by the Journal of *Bargarran's* Daughter's Suffering's, which was attested before the former Commissioners; and is known in the Country; particularly the Glass of Sack and Orange-Pill; the Pieces of the clouted Sleeves; the Words expressed suddenly; the Murther of the Child by the Woman that looked after it; which are constantly told by some of the Confessants, as also the Houses being strew'd with Meal that Night. The Girl's falling in Fits, though hoodwinked, at their Approach, &c. And others which shall be pointed at to the Jury, conjoined together, can be ascribed to no other Cause but the real Existence of the Witches Persons in the Place; unless it be said, that Satan might possibly have foisted and suborned all those, and thence it be concluded that the Devil did actually so; in case the Objectors are the Persons that found their Opinion on Imagination, without any positive Ground

Ground of the Reality of what they fancy, yea against positive Grounds of Belief in the contrary; which arguing from Possibility to Existence, is already sufficiently exploded.

Whereas for strengthening the Objection it is alledged, That the Confessants having been in the Devil's Service, and renounced Christ, they are not capable of making a Religious Oath;

It is Answered,

First, In the Rules of Charity, &c. the Confessants, tho' once Witches, have now, at least the Majority of them ceased to be such, having had the Use of Means, by the Ministers and Word, and effectually declared, their Repentance and the Devil's ceasing to molest them; particularly *Elizabeth Anderson* was only carried along violently by her Father, and stood out, to the last, the renouncing her Baptism, or consenting to those Crimes, which were contrived in their Meetings. *Jennet* and *Margaret Rogers* do testify a great Remorse, and avowed the same, last Sabbath, in the Face of the Congregation. So those Three are sufficient, whatever might be said against the other Two; especially if we join the Improbability, either of hazarding their own Lives, or the Devil's sending them out against these Prisoners, or their destroying their own Relations, as was remarked before. But,

Secondly, Whether they remain Witches or not, it is certainly Reason and Experience, that the Devil's peculiar Influence ceases, when they are brought to Judgment by the common Course of Providence; and therefore the Authors before cited, admit Witches whether Penitent or not.

Thirdly, All the supposed Defects of their Evidence is supplied, and the Entireness thereof compleated by their Testimonies, being so wonderfully confirmed; particularly the Confessants
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are constant from the first Discovery; uniform in such various Circumstances, not only with themselves, but with the Girl. They declare nothing but what is probable, most of the Prisoners having been reputed VVitches; all of them having the Mark; and one or other of them (to whom their Associates who delighted in Mischief, never failed to join) having had particular Provocations to take Revenge by the Torture and Deaths mentioned; besides the other Presumptions of Guilt, already proved before you. The Confessants were threatned to retract by the Prisoners themselves and their Friends, besides the bad usage from others in the Country.

They concur with the bewitched Girl's Testimony, and amongst themselves, even when examined singly, and upon new Things, as several have tried the Experiment. On this Head *Delrio Lib. 5. Sect. 16. N. 5.* wisely observes, Though it would be easy for a Dæmon to deceive more than one, yet it is not to be thought that God will equally permit it, lest Judges should be wholly at a loss in using their Reason in the Tryal of others, which would be contrary to the Methods of Divine Providence. The Reiteration of the Acts which they declare, as to some Persons that they never saw, except in these Congresses, and yet whom they knew now on the first Sight, is unaccountable, if they were Cheats. And that they are not such is further confirmed, by some of the Prisoners being accused by a confessing VVitch in the Year 1687. And you know, that others accused by these Confessants, were lately brought in Guilty by the Verdict of a former Inquest, &c. which are so many joint Proofs of the VVitnessees Integrity, and make a Chain of Evidence and moral Demonstration, both against Error in themselves, and Delusion in Relation to others, &c.

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There are some Things also objected from the Law of *Scotland*, which we shall give some brief Hints of.

Whereas it was alledged, That those that were indicted for capital Crimes, and so under the Prosecutor's Power, cannot be admitted to be Witnesses; conformable to a Statute in *Regiam Majestatem*;

To this it was answered, That we need not say, that these Statutes have the Force of Law, except so far as they are received by Custom, and are conformable to Law. A Lay-Man cannot witness against a Clerk, and on the contrary, &c. nor need we make use of that which is obvious, *viz.* That these Statutes are only common Rules in ordinary Crimes; which have their Exception in Occult and excepted Crimes, such as Witchcraft, &c. Not every Rule is to be overthrown, and particularly this Rule is so restrained in the Case of Witchcraft, by the Opinions of Lawyers and the Customs afore-mentioned, which are the best Interpreters of Laws; for if this Application should hold, a Companion in a Crime could never be admitted: But we positively deny that those Confessants are under our Power or Influence; seeing *Elizabeth Anderson* is not Guilty of Witchcraft, for any Thing that does appear; The *Lindseys* were never Indicted for it, and the Indictment against *Jennet* and *Margaret Rogers* was dropped; as the whole Commission is to expire against the first of *June*, betwixt and which Time, they are to proceed no farther than this particular Tryal; so that this Objection vanishes.

VWhereas it is pretended that the *Rogers's* cannot be received, because not given out in the List of VWitnesses, conformable to the Regulation, whereby the Prisoners might have proved their Objection by their Exculpation:

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It was answered,

First, This Objection ought to be rejected; because, besides that the Act speaks only of criminal Libels and not Indictments; which with the List of the VVitneses may be given in far shorter Time, than the additional List hath been given to the Prisoners indicted, being Prisoners: This Act as interpreted by the common Custom of the Justice-Court, of giving additional Lists after the first, upon shorter Time than this hath been given; as is particularly attested by *James Guthry Macer*, who gave them; and being a Person in Office, his Testimony is to be credited in what relates to his Office; so that the Old Custom confirmed by a Decision, *August the Third, 1661*, where *Alexander Forrester* was cited, *apud Asta*, against a VVitch, continues as to this Point, as is related by *Mr. Kemple, Pag. 529*.

Secondly, Any Objection that the Prisoners pretend against these VVitneses, is *in jure*, or may instantly appear.

Thirdly, The Case is altogether Extraordinary, and Circumstantiate; for these VVitneses had not confessed; and so were not Existent under that Reduplication, when the Principal List was given out; whereby the Act of Parliament can only be understood of VVitneses that were then Existent.

And finally, The Prisoners got a general Warrant of Exculpation for citing of any VVitneses they pleased, and they have had several Days since they got this general List, so that they might have cited VVitneses to prove their Objections, were it not true, that they have none besides these that are common and before answered.

Thus we have given some Hints, which your own Reason may improve and apply, so as to dissolve the Quibbles which Petty VVits, who have

have not Soul enough of themselves to penetrate into the Depth of that which is abstruse, may raise against it: Their common Talent being either to pass over Things superficially, or else to attack some of the slightest Outworks, and then to triumph as if they had obtained the Victory.

I confess none could be more Sceptical as to the Truth of some odd Things I had heard, and more inquisitive into the Reality, than I was before my Attendance at *Bargarran's* House, and the several Dyets at Court; and my Conversation with some of those-concerned in the Matter. But now, after all that I have seen, reasoned and heard, I acknowledge my self intirely captivated by the Dictates of Natural Understanding and Common Sense, into a firm Belief and Persuasion, that as there is such a Thing as VVitchcraft, so it was evident in it's forementioned Effects, and that the Seven Prisoners were some of the VVitches.

I have troubled you little with my own Observations, yet lest you should think me too Lazy, I shall make one; and that is, that I do not think the greater Part of the condemned Prisoners will ever fully Confess; for which Conjecture I have two Grounds, *viz.* that they are neither Ignorant nor Melancholy, but on the contrary, some of them would seem to have been once enlightned, before they fell away, so that if this be a Sin unto Death, there is no Appearance that they will glorifie God by a Confession.

Several of them are Persons of singular Knowledge and Acuteness, beyond the common Level of their Station; particularly *Margaret Laing* made Harangues in her Defence, which neither Divine or Lawyer could well outdo. Yet I thought, that when they spoke in a Matter of any Concern, their Eyes stood asquint and fixed, as if they had been turning their Ears and attending

ing to some invisible Dictates. Their Answers to the Trying Questions put to them, were surprizingly subtle and Cautious, though indeed by the Industry of some of the Judges and Lawyers, they were sometimes caught in Lyes, Prevarications and Contradictions, which might have proceeded from either Natural or Preternatural Causes. Some of them were esteemed in the Country, to be very sagacious and exact in their Business; *Margaret Laing* having been a Noted Midwife; and one of the *Lindsays* having acquired a considerable Fortune by his Tillage and Trade. Yet it was observed, that there did commonly break out in their Hypocritical way of Living, something odd, either of Iniquity or Affectation; and *Lindsey* did cunningly enough get off from the Sheriff, when he was formerly accused in the Year 1687.

Melancholy Persons are lovers of Solitude, Witches of Society and Feasts. Those are commonly Pale and Heavy; many of these Corpulent and Voluptuous. Witches, are hard to Confess, as knowing their Guilt: The Melancholy delight to discover their horridest Damps, because they think them no Crime. The Confessions of the one are every where Uniform; The others Phantasms are as various as their Humours. Finally, Witches teach their Trade, whereas Conceits would Dye with the Melancholy, and can no more be conveyed by them to others, than the Humour which is the chief Cause thereof. As these distinguishing Characters do hold in General, so in this particular Case there are several others; so as most of the Prisoners were of a middle Age. One not much above Twenty, and the first Confessants are known to be Young; so that Dotage or Melancholy are the less to be suspected; yea, was morally impossible in many of their Cases. For
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the Facts which the Confessants had formerly declared before the Commissioners for Enquiry, were sworn to by other unquestionable Witnesses before the Commissioners for the Tryal; and their Circumstances were such, that one of them could not know, what the other had Deponed. As it is already manifest, that the real Effects in several Passages of *Bargarran's* Daughter were not possibly producible by any Imagination of Humour, and it is special in this Case, that neither the Prisoners, nor Confessants, were distempered by being kept from Sleep, tortured or the like, which were too usual in former times; but all the Measures were strictly observed, that are requisite to a truly Impartial Judgment.

There is no Need to insert the Copies of the Depositions themselves, because it is not denied that they are such as represented in the Pleadings, the chief Question being about the Legality of the last Deponents. Nor is there any Need to insert the Defendants Part of the Debate separately by it self, in respect that it is faithfully repeated or implied in what is here contained.

Upon the whole I do believe, that there is scarce a more remarkable Providence of this Nature to be found in any true History; nor was there ever a more exact Caution in any Enquiry or Tryal of this Kind: A clearer Probation, without Confession of the Prisoners themselves, or a juster Sentence, putting together all Circumstances upon Record.

I am, what you have made me,

Yours, &c.

CHAP.



C H A P. IV.

*Containing a brief Narrative of the
Surrey Dæmoniack.*

*The Testimony and Information upon Oath of
several Persons who voluntarily offered
themselves concerning Richard Dugdale
of Whalley, in the County of Lancaster,
Gardner; taken before Hugh Lord Wil-
loughby, and Ralph Egerton Esq; Two
of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the
County of Lancaster, at Holcomb in the
said County, the Nine and Twentieth Day
of July, 1695.*

T *Thomas Dugdale, Father of the said Richard Dug-
dale, maketh Oath, that he consulted one
Crabtree in Behalf of his said Son, then under a
strange Dīstemper, and had his Answer; that if
there was Money enough he could effect the
Cure; whereupon this Deponent seeing his Son's
Body much weakened with the said Crabtree's
Physick, and his Fits more violent, applied him-
self to Mr. Jolly a Neighbouring Minister, and
others of his Brethren in the Ministry. And this*

this Deponent says, he hath seen his Son Vomit up Stones, several times and other Things. Once he declared, he must either Vomit up Gold, Silver or Brasse Rings, and Hair-Buttons, and accordingly did so. At other Times he vomited great Stones, also blue Stones like Flints.

One time he vomited a Stone an Inch and a half long, and an Inch and a half broad, having Blood upon the Edges, which this Deponent and others standing by him, apprehended to be painful to him.

And further this Deponent maketh Oath, that one Day a little before Night, walking by his said Son then in a Fit, it growing dark, a Candle being brought in, the Deponent looking upon him, there was a great Stone laid upon his Belly, weighing about Twelve or Thirteen Pounds, this Deponent, not knowing how it came there, nor were there any such like Stones about the House. Besides Stones have been thrown at the Barn-side, falling very thick upon the Door, yet this Deponent could never discover the Hand that threw them, nor any Person employed therein, although this Deponent's Wife was hit with one of them, but without any Hurt. At other times the said *Richard Dugdale* would cast Goose-dung at this Deponent, and others standing by, which he seemed to fetch out of the Barn-side; altho' neither this Deponent, nor those that were with him could find any there, nor discover any one that brought it, nor were there any Geese kept at the House, nor other Geese came near it. And lastly, this Deponent saith, that his said Son would run upon his Hands and his Feet together, as fast as most Men could run upon their Hands alone, and his Body would sometimes be so heavy, that Two or Three strong Men could hardly lift him up; and at other Times as light as a Bag of Feathers.

John

John Walmsly of *Harwood*, in the said County of *Lancaster*, Saddler, Deposes, That he hath seen the said *Richard Dugdale* in a Fit, held in a Chair by Six Men. And whilst his Feet were off the Ground, he hath leaped up in the Chair for Two or Three Hours together, as fast as a Man can ordinarily count any Thing, and hath so sweated through his Cloaths, that it hath stood like a Dew upon them. Moreover this Deponent hath taken the said *Richard Dugdale* by the Shoe, betwixt this Deponents foremost Finger and his Thumb, another taking him at his Head, and so lifting him up, this Deponent could not think he weighed Six Pounds.

And further this Deponent says, that *Mr. Jolly* the Minister, sending Word by him to the said *Richard's* Father, that the Ministers would be at his House called *Surrey* on such a Day; this Deponent going the same Day he was spoken to with his Errand, the said *Richard* declared it before this Deponent mentioned it; as likewise what Ministers would be there.

And further, this Deponent upon his Oath says, That the said *Richard Dugdale* in some of his Fits, opening his Hand hath received written Papers into it, none of the By-standers knowing how they came thither, which the said *Richard Dugdale* hath given People that were about him; also the said Deponent hath seen him shuffle Rushes like Cards, and play Games on them, as though he had been playing with some other Person, with whom he had Chid about the Casts, Cursing and Swearing about his Play, and then said, Do not Gamesters thus? He likewise played with Rushes as if they had been Dice, using exactly several Expressions belonging to that Play, saying, People think this is laid upon me for my Sins, but I never was a Gamester in my Life, neither know I how to Play at such Games, when

when out of my Fits. And the said *Richard Dugdale* did likewise play at Bowls, making Bowls of Rushes; and when he had thrown the Jack, he said, I must now throw my Gill; then running a good way, as if he had been running after a Bowl, Swearing, Run, Run, Flee, Flee, Hold a Biafs; and sometimes he caught up Rushes as if they had been Bowls, Swearing, *Sirrah*, stand out of the Way, or I'll knock out your Brains; adding, I never was a Bowler, But don't Gentlemen do thus.

And this Deponent says, That the said *Richard Dugdale* had several Fits, after his being threatned with his being brought before a Justice of Peace. And once being in his last Fit, when this Deponent was present, he declared his Fit was thro' Obsession, and in a Combination which should never be discovered whilst the World endured. And this Deponent hath seen him in a great Fit, as in a great Agony, with something he could not see, and then hath been taken up and thrown backwards, set upon his Head, and so stood till he was pulled down by one *John Fletcher*. As also this Deponent hath heard him Curse and Swear, his Gesture being so terrible, it would have frightened a Man to come near him, and yet in a Moment's time after, in such a Fear that he sought to creep into any Hole, or behind any Body to have hid himself, and so lamented himself, as moved the Standers-by with great Compassion. He would at other Times have told when his Fits would begin, when he had Two or Three in one Day, or Three or Four Days asunder, wherein he was never disproved, that he knew of, which Fits commonly began with the Calf of his Leg, and wrought upwards into the Chest of his Body, and then he was thrown down, where he would lye for a good while as Dead, or Breathless; and then would have

I

have a strange Noise in his Mouth and Nose, and there would to his Apprehension be something like Whelps in his Bosom before he rose, after which sometime he would be very furious, sometime more quiet.

William Loond of Harwood, Carrier, in the County of Lancaster maketh Oath, that he hath heard the said *Richard Dugdale* Curse and Swear, his Gesture being so terrible, it would have frightened a Man to come near him, and yet in a Moment of time after, in such a Fear, that he hath sought to creep into any Hole, or behind any Body to have hid himself, and so lamented himself, as moved the Standers by with great Compassion. He would at other Times have told when his Fits would begin, when they were Two or Three in one Day, or Three or Four Days asunder, wherein he was never disappointed that he knew of, which Fits commonly began in the Calf of his Leg, and wrought upwards into the Chest of his Body; and then he was thrown down, where he would lye for a good While as Dead, or Breathless, and then would have a strange Noise in his Mouth and Nose, and there would be in his Breast like Whelps before he rose; after which sometimes he would be very furious, sometimes more quiet.

Willoughby.

Ralph Egerton.

John Livesy of Clayton, in the County of Lancaster, Skinner, maketh Oath, That he the Deponent being at home with him, the said Richard Dugdale, he Cursed and Swore, making Answer to something at the Window that he could not see, whom he called Nicholas, saying he would go with

with him. And this Deponent being with him at the Chappel Door, he then being in a Trance, this Deponent observed there would be such a Noise in his Breast, as went in Course with the Peoples Voices Singing *Psalms* within, Singing, or turning as they did, and ceasing when they ceased; and whilst his Eyes were close shut, he told a Woman she had a Pipe in her Pocket, which proved very true. Also this Deponent hath seen him run over Three or Four Stiles with his Eyes closed, and hath heard his Voice as in his Ordinary Discourse, when the Deponent hath been above a Mile distant from him.

Nathaniel Waddington, of *Altham*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Husbandman, upon his Oath saith, That he hath carried the said *Richard Dugdale* in one of his Fits, for the Space of Eight Roods; that in the Beginning of some of his Fits, he would be as light as a Feather-Boulster, but before he came out heavier than a Load of Corn. That sometimes this Deponent hath taken him off the Ground by his Buttons with one Hand, and to this Deponent's Thinking, he hath weighed but twenty Pound. And further this Deponent saith, That in some of his Fits, a Swelling as big as a Man's Hand in one of his Legs, moved towards his Knee. That in some of his Fits he had more Strength than six Strong-Men.

John Dorrel, of *Wisnall*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Husbandman, maketh Oath, That he hath seen the said *Richard Dugdale* Dance upon his Knees, without touching the Ground with his Toes, with his Body bowed forward, and that for the Space of a Quarter of an Hour, with as much Activity, as though he had been upon his Feet. And hath also seen him Dance upon his Toes, quickly changing to Dance upon his Knees, and so hath leaped up again upon his Feet, and hath

seen him in his Fits, have Motions of Dancing Antickly, being kept down in a Chair.

William Seller, of *Pendleton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Husbandman, maketh Oath, That he heard the said *Richard Dugdale* in his Fits, utter Words which this Deponent understood not; in one of which Fits, Twelve Men could not hold him, but with ease he could throw them a good Distance from him. And another time the Deponent being told by Mr. *Jolly*, he expected the said *Richard Dugdale* would have a Fit about Seven a Clock next Morning, wished this Deponent to see the said *Richard Dugdale*, giving this Deponent Five Shillings for him; but before this Deponent could come up to the said *Richard Dugdale*, he cried, here is a Man will bring Money to Day, and fell a leaping and dancing in the Barn, as a Token of Joy, but after a while seeming to be displeased at something, he said, *Dick, Dick*, Thou shalt have Meat enough, and not long after fell down Dead, and then in a little time turned on his Back, and seemed to fall a Eating; at which time this Deponent, with *Richard Dugdale* his Uncle, lifted him up twice, and found him to be as Light as a Hat or a Walking-Cane. And when he was sensible, this Deponent demanded of him the Occasion of his Distemper, and whether he had not made some Contract with the Devil; who answered, saying, would you have me to lye. This Deponent also maketh Oath, that at a Meeting in one *William Waddington's* House in *Altham*, the said *Richard Dugdale* made such a Noise, as terrified several People, in so much that they left the House; and at the same time this Deponent heard two distinct Voices at once come from him the said *Richard Dugdale*, the one being a very hideous Noise, which running through the Crowd, put some People into hor-

horrible trembling, so that some of them said,
They thought the Devil went out of him.

Willoughby.
Ralph Egerton.

Lawrence Robertshaw, of *Harwood*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Woollen-Weaver, Deposeth, and saith, upon Oath, That he heard one of the Ministers then present, and the Devil as he supposeth, in the said *Richard Dugdale*, talk one to another. One Passage this Deponent well remembers, viz. The Minister said, Satan thou hast made a Tryal both of Heaven and Hell, which of them likest thou best? To which an Answer was given by Satan (as this Deponent supposes) saying, Hell is my Palace and Paradice, where I'll have thee shortly. Upon which the said *Richard Dugdale* shivered as if one Joint would have fallen from another, and many other Sayings could this Deponent Report, if he was required.

Willoughby.
Ralph Egerton.

Thomas Booth, of *Hay-House*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Carpenter, maketh Oath, That he heard several Voices come from the said *Richard Dugdale* his Lips not moving, and his Tongue appearing to be strangely rowled on a Lump, and his Eye-Balls turned inwards, at the Time when the several Voices came from him. And farther this Deponent saith, That in the Time of his Fits, the said *Richard Dugdale* was of an exceeding Lightness, and again of an extraordinary Heaviness; sometimes as light as a Chip, and again as heavy

as a Horse, and all in one and the same Fit. In the light Part of his Fit, this Deponent hath taken him up about his Hips, betwixt this Deponent's Hands, and he was so light, this Deponent thought he could lift Twenty such.

Willoughby.
Ralph Egerton.

These Depositions were taken at the Time and Place aforementioned, upon the Holy Evangelists.

Willoughby.
Ralph Egerton.



The Informations of divers Persons taken before the said Justices of Peace, at the Time and Place aforesaid, declaring themselves ready to do it upon Oath, when required.

James Abbot, of Whitberk, in the County of Lancaster, Dyer, declares, That he went, on purpose, to see the said Richard Dugdale at Surrey, the Place of his Abode, having no Acquaintance with him, nor had he any Knowledge of this Informant, as this Informant verily believeth. When this Informant came, the said Richard Dugdale being

ing in one of his said Fits, said, *Abbot*, Thou thinkst no Body knows thee, but I know thee well enough; thou must go into *Cheshire* and *Staffordshire*; when as this Informant says, He had not so much as a Design of such a Journey to his Remembrance; but accordingly it happened, that this Informant went that Journey soon afterwards.

John Fielding, of *Harwood*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Joyner, declares, That being with the said *Richard Dugdale* in one of his Fits, this Informant to his Thinking heard something within him like *Piggs Sucking* of a Sow; and also like the Barking of a Dog.

John Whally, of *Harwood*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Hair-Cloth-Weaver, informs the same which *John Fielding* does; and further, informs the same with *John Walmsly*, as to the said *Richard Dugdale's* Carding, Diceing and Bowling. And moreover informs, That he this said Informant, being with *Richard Dugdale* in one of his Fits, he said, There were *Lapideers* a coming; and presently after came a Stone, which this Informant took up, and felt it to be very warm. And he further informs, that the said *Richard Dugdale* in his Fits commonly told when the next Fit would come.

William Livasay, of *Whalley*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Shoemaker, informs, That he being in *Whalley*, desired several Young Men to go along with him to *Surrey* (above half a Mile distant) but they refused; when the Informant came to the Barn, where the said *Richard Dugdale* was, the said *Richard Dugdale* told this Informant, that he had desired several Persons to come along with him, but they had denied him, naming *Ned Dean* in particular. And he further Informeth that the said *Richard Dugdale*, on his Feet, Three Yards from the Wall of the Barn, was as soon as he

could turn himself, set straight upon his Head, and was as stiff as a Tree.

John Grimshaw, of *Clayton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, *Woollen-Weaver*, informs, That the said *Richard Dugdale* being in a Fit, he said, *Nicholas*, Art thou there? What seest thou for? Come up. Then said, Seest thou where my Mother sits? Then something came to his Shoulder, and several Parts of his Body; and the said *Richard Dugdale* seemed to be much afrighted with it. And he further informs, That he coming to the *Surrey* one Night, he the said *Richard Dugdale* told *Mr. John Grimshaw*, that he the said Informant *Grimshaw*, was coming before he came. And this Informant leaving his Horse at a considerable Distance from the Place, where the said *Richard Dugdale* was, and going into the Place, the said *Richard Dugdale* meets him with a great Noise, and saith, How now? calling him *Grimshaw*; adding, art thou there with all thy Knives, (this Informant having Three or Four Knives about him) telling this Informant likewise that he could not go on Foot. And this Informant further says, That when the said *Richard Dugdale* was in his Trances (as they called them) and lying upon the Ground, he was sometimes as light, to this Informant's thinking, as his Shoes and Stockings, and sometimes as heavy as a Man could lift.

The Informations aforesaid were taken at the Time and Place above mentioned before Us,

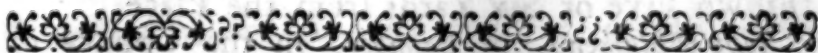
Willoughby.
Ralph Egerion.

And,

And, Lastly, We the said Justices of the Peace, do Certify, that the said *Thomas Dugdale*, Father of the said *Richard Dugdale*, did make Oath before us, That he knew not of any Design or Combination betwixt his said Son, and any other Person, which might occasion the aforesaid strange Fits and Disturbances. Nor that he the Deponent was any way privy to it; nor knoweth he of any Chearing or Deceiving Practices for Gain, or any such End, Purpose or Design whatsoever.

Willoughby.

Ralph Egerton.



The Information of several Persons, who voluntarily offered themselves, concerning Richard Dugdale, of Whally, in the County of Lancaster, Gardener, before Thomas Braddil Esq; and Ralph Egerton Esq; Two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the said County, at Derwin, in the said County, on the Twentieth Day of July, 1695.

John Fletcher, of Harwood, in the County of Lancaster, Husbandman, declares, That he hath seen the said Richard Dugdale in many of his Fits, wherein he hath barked like a Mastiff Dog, being then as strong as Ten Men: For this Informant hath been of the Ten, that have undertaken to hold him. Also that this Informant one Time found him in the River of Calder up to the Neck

in Water, crying out, and saying, Wilt thou Drownd me? striking at the same time upon the Water with Two Sticks. Whereupon this Informant, with the Help of others, by a Rope, drew him out of the Water. The said *Dugdale* being then in a Dumb Fit; which began in the Water, and continued near Four Hours after. And further this Informant saith, he found in the Barn where the said *Dugdale* lay, a round Hole in the Hay like a Hen's Nest, wherein were Seven Stones laid together. And this Informant hath taken up several Stones cast by the said *Dugdale*, running upon his Hands and Feet, Barking and Howling. And the said *Dugdale* being sat down, he hath seen him, several times, thrown Five or Six Yards from the Place.

John Whitehead, of *Bankbey*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Labourer, declareth, That being at *Surrey* with the said *Dugdale* in one of his Fits, he found him lying upon the Barn-floor like a Dead Man; at which time, Mr. *Ainsworth* the Apothecary, and another Apothecary from *Manchester* coming in, both of them felt the said *Dugdale*'s Pulses, which did not beat, and then they laid their Faces to his Mouth, to try if he breathed, but could not perceive it. And further this Informant says, that at Mr. *Jolly*'s House, the Informant endeavouring to hold the said *Dugdale*, in his Fit, by the Wrist of his Arm, could by no means do it, for this Informant's Fingers were no sooner closed but they opened again.

John Smallwood, of *Harwood*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Cooper, declareth, That he hath seen the said *Richard Dugdale* in Twenty or Thirty of his Fits; sometimes lying on the Floor, for the Space of Four Hours very stiff and heavy, in so much that this Informant with Three more have carried him out of the Barn, but on his coming out of his Fit, his Head and Part of his

his Body hath been lifted up by this Informant's Daughter, a Child of Seven Years Old.

*The Informations aforesaid were taken,
at the Time and Place afore-men-
tioned, before the said Mr. Braddil,
and me the said*

Ralph Egerton.



*The Informations of divers Creditable Persons
which were, and are ready to give in upon
Oath, before the said Justices of the Peace,
or others at the Places aforesaid, or elsewhere
if desired to do it, as they voluntarily of-
fered, and declared unto Mr. Jolly, and
others of sufficient Credit and Cautious-
ness.*

*John Fletcher, further says, I was one Night in
Bed with Richard Dugdale, and I felt something
come up towards my Knees; then I felt it creep
up till it came towards my Heart, than I got hold
of it, and it was about the Bigness of a little
Dog or Cat, and it slipped through my Hands as
if it had been a Snig; and when we were in Bed,
very often there hath been something in Bed
knattering, as though there had been Mice or Rats,
and we searched the Bed, but it was not harmed;
and Things have seemed to our thinking to have
fallen in the House, as if all had been broken,
yet in the Morning nothing stirred; and one
Sabbath*

Sabbath Day there was a Knife length-ways in his Mouth, none knowing how it came there, where it was held so very fast, that I with much ado pulled it out, and asked the Company, whether any of them wanted a Knife. They all said no, till one *Jeremy Webster*, that was newly come in said, I had one when I came in, and I think he cannot have got it out of my Pocket; but he finding nothing but a Sheath in his Pocket, claimed the Knife, and it was certainly his. *John Fletcher* further says, That when the said *Richard Dugdale* was in a Fit, about Five a Clock in the Night, *John Hindle* pricked a large Pin in his Feet, and he neither stirred nor complained at all. Besides in one of his Fits, I heard him tell, that he must vomit a Hair-Button, and a Curtain-Ring, which I saw him do within an Hour. I have seen, as *John Darwin* before testified, *Richard Dugdale* for a Quarter of an Hour together Dance upon his Knees, with as much Activity as any one on their Feet.

John Fletcher.

John Hindle says; These strange Things I have heard *Richard Dugdale* do and say; I was by when he told, that he should vomit a Hair-Button and Curtain-Ring, which I saw him do within an Hour. Likewise I have lifted at him, when I could not lift as much as his Head for my Life; and at other times I have lifted at him, and could lift him with as much ease as if it had been a Child. I was present when *Richard Dugdale* was in a Fit, about Eight a Clock in the Night, and I pricked a Pin into his Foot, and he neither stirred nor complained at all. I was present

present at all which *William Loond* Swears to, in the first Part of his Oath.

John Hindle.

Thomas Core, saith, I have seen several times the Lump on his Breast or Belly, as big as a Man's Fist, and heard strange Voices coming out of it.

Thomas Core.

John Fielding, saith, That the said Swelling of the said *Richard Dugdale*, when it rose from the Thick of his Leg, was about the bigness of a Mole (or a Molewarp, as they call it) and worked up and down like such a Creature, towards the Chest of his Body; that it got up into his Shoulder, and then he was in the worst of his Fit. He also says, that the said *Richard Dugdale* did, in several of his Fits, take several Things out of the Hands of several Persons, and would by no means part with the said Things, but to the Person to whom they belonged, having his Eyes close shut all the while; also he says, That they which attempted to force the Things out of his Hands, could not force them out, how strong soever the Persons were, so that they might sooner pull the Things in Pieces, than get them from him. The said *Fielding* also saith, That the said Creature, rose under the said *Richard Dugdale's* Skin, as he does verily think. Also, he says, That the said *Richard Dugdale* did in his Fit lift up several lusty Men, and the Chair wherein they held him, though the said *Richard Dugdale* is but of ordinary Strength of Body when out of his Fit.

James Fielding, Jun.

John

John Smalley further says, (and *John Fletcher* witnesses the same, in which he agrees with several other Witnesses, as well as in other Things) that he saw *Richard Dugdale* ly Four Hours in one Fit, as if he was stark Dead, and as stiff as a Board; also when his Shoes were fast buckled to his Feet, they flew six Yards, and hit the Skel-boos in the Barn with great Force: also he said that *Richard Dugdale* was in the same Fit, as light as his Cloaths, and as heavy as a Sack of Corn.

John Smalley also further says, That upon Occasion he went to the Abby in *Whalley*, and whilst he was there, the said *Richard Dugdale* said, that *Smalley* was taking Liquor at the Abby, and he takes it freely, it costs him nothing. This he said to *Thomas Dugdale* as he also testifies.

John Smalley.

Edmund Haworth of *Rhushtou*, Carrier, testifies, to the Passage about *Jeremy Webster's* Knife, as aforesaid; also to these Passages about *Richard Dugdale's* Vomiting several Stones, Hair-Buttons, Curtain-Rings, &c. He moreover testifies, that the said *Richard Dugdale*, in one of his Fits, told him, with his Company that came along, what they had been Eating at home, what they discoursed of by the Way, what Stiles they went over, how they stumbled; and that the said *Richard Dugdale* threatened *Robert Turner*, to send his Sister (as he called his Spirit) to give him a Fall at such a Fields End; which fell out accordingly, so that it set all the Company a trembling; and that he and Three or Four more were coming towards *Surey*, and that *Richard Dugdale* in a Fit said that such were a coming, but he would send them back again, which fell out accordingly; for they turned back,
near

near *Harwood Church*. He also testifies, That a Voice spoke in *Richard Dugdale*, besides his own Voice, without his Lips moving; and that another Voice, as they apprehended, spoke out of the Earth in Answer to him, and that he hath been one of the Seven or Nine to carry him, and yet so many have been hard set to do it, and that he, and some others were coming, and such a Fear came on him, that he durst only go betwixt his Company, and that when he came to *Surrey*, he found *Richard Dugdale* in a Fit, who asked him Questions concerning his Fear in such a Place, and told him, that his Sister, as he called the Spirit, crossed him in the Way, but had no further Power than to put him into that Fright.

Edward Haworth.

Henry Page, of *Harwood Magna*, Felt-Maker, certifies, That he saw *Richard Dugdale* Dance on his Knees a good while together, not touching the Earth with any thing but his Knees. Further, that he saw the same Person Bowl with a Bowl he had made with Rushes; and that he heard him Bark like a Mastiff-Dog.

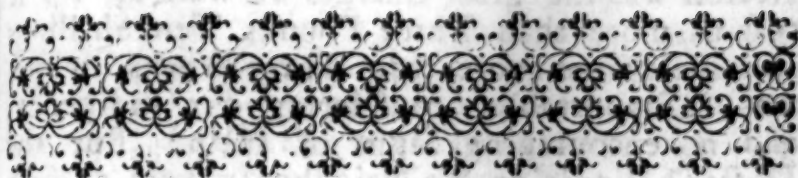
Henry Page.

Grace Whalley, of the same Place testifies, that she heard *Richard Dugdale* Snarl and Bark like a Dog; that she also heard (as she and others thought) a Noise out of his Belly, as if a Litter of Young Dogs had been Sucking there. And she further testifies, that she helped to hold his Head, the time he vomitted a Stone, weighing Three Ounces as she thinks. Further that she hath seen *Richard Dugdale* Gallop round the Barn on his Hands and Feet, for half an Hour together,

ther, as cleverly as any Horse; she hath heard him Whining like a Horse, and as eating Provender. She further Declares, That she hath seen the said *Richard Dugdale* Dance on his Knees, not touching the Earth with his Toes; and that she heard *Richard Dugdale* tell, in one of his Fits, that there would come Three Lapidars at a certain Time; accordingly at the Time he foretold, there were thrown Three Stones, some distance of time from each other, which were as warm as New-Milk. These foresaid Passages she saw, heard and observed, when *Richard Dugdale* was in his Fits. Also she asked *Richard Dugdale*, when out of his Fits, whether he knew of any Thing spoken or done by him, whilst in the Fit, which he utterly denied. Also she testifies, that coming with her Brother and others to the *Surey*, to see *Richard Dugdale*, she being behind the rest, and coming over the *Hippens*, she unaccountably slipped off one of the Stones into the Water, and could not get out till her Brother came to help her; at the same time several Persons came out of the Barn, upon some Words spoke by *Richard Dugdale* at the same time, being in a Fit, viz: Sister *Ekel*, Put the hindermost into the Water.

Grace Whalley.

Surrey,



Surrey, *July the Thirty First*, 1695.

[Thomas and Anne Dugdale, Parents to Richard Dugdale, with Mary and Alice, Sisters to Richard Dugdale, testifie, That Richard Dugdale's Fits began soon after St. James's Day, when they went first to a neighbouring Doctor for Help, who prescribed several Things, which were observed without Effect; whereupon the Doctor was desired to take Richard Dugdale to his own House, but refused, acknowledging that he had done what he could, yet promised to Ride his Horse a Hundred Miles if that could help him. After this Richard Dugdale's Fits were more violent; soon after we consulted Dr. Crabtree, who undertook to Cure him. Upon which Thomas Dugdale went along with his Son Richard to Dr. Crabtree, where they stayed a Fortnight, and upon Richard Dugdale's Fits abating they came home; but within a few Days after his Return, his Fits were more violent than ever. A Fortnight after Thomas Dugdale and his Son Richard went to Dr. Crabtree the Second Time, where they stayed not so long as before; the Reasons were two; First, Richard Dugdale was tired with the Methods prescribed by Dr. Crabtree. The Doctor confessed that he gave the Patient Physick enough at once for Six Men, which weakened Richard Dugdale so much, that he had Strength little enough left to carry him cross the House; yet in his Fits Seven
strong

strong Men could not hold him. The Second Reason was the great Charges we were at, for it cost us more than Three Pounds Ten Shillings in a little time more than Three Weeks, which was insupportable, considering our Indigency, and no encouraging Signs of Help: But the Doctor's Words to his Neighbours were at first, that if the Father would bring Money enough, he would cure *Richard Dugdale*; yet said at another time, that if the Spirit in *Richard Dugdale* was a Water Spirit, there was no Cure for it. Some time after we consulted Mr. Jolly, who, with others in the Ministry, upon our Request, were much concerned for *Richard Dugdale*, Praying for him near Twelve Months, in which time he had many strange Fits; sometimes vomited Stones, a Curtain-Ring, a large Hair-Button; in Fits would be lighter than so many Feathers. In the Beginning of several Fits would gape and catch with his Mouth (as a Dog at Flies) Ten or Eleven times together, and at the last would open his Mouth as often; when we thought Spirits might come into him or leave him. In many of his last Fits he told the People, that he might be killed or cured before the 25th of March, which proved true; for on the 24th coming from his Work on *Hindfield-side*, his last Fit seized him, and when he came Home he was in the Fit, his Face as black as a Coal; upon which he fell down, and lay a While, and then recovered out of his last Fit. After this *Richard Dugdale* had no Fit; though once when he had got too much Drink, he was after another manner than drunken Persons usually are.

Thomas Dugdale.

Anne Dugdale.

Mary Dugdale.

Alice Dugdale.

Altham



Altham, August the 4th. 1695.

Nathaniel Waddington, further testified, First, That he had seen *Richard Dugdale* gallop round the Barn several times together ; and heard him Whinying much like a Horse, and making a Noise as if a Horse had been Eating Provender. Secondly, That he told Things in his Fit, which neither he nor any could by Lawful Art. As one time the said *Nathaniel Waddington*, and his Neighbour *Joseph Hargreaves*, going to *Surrey*, to see *Richard Dugdale*, they called at a House of a Neighbour of theirs, to desire the Master to go with them ; but a Relation's Averseness prevented him. *Richard Dugdale* was in a Fit at the same Time and spoke it, before a great Number of People, that *Nathaniel Waddington*, and *Joseph Hargreaves* were coming ; that they called on such a One whom he named, and told further how that Good Man's Wife hindered him. The latter Part, *viz.* The Discovery they met with from several which were with *Richard Dugdale* in the Barn, being sure that the Circumstances of Things were such, that *Richard Dugdale* could have no Intelligence. And further, *Richard Dugdale's* Relation was so particular, that it could not be an uncertain Guess.

Further, That a certain Person going to see *Richard Dugdale*, took some Bisket, and a Piece or some Pieces of Gold, on purpose as the Person said to try whether *Richard Dugdale* could discover

ver it. Soon after the Party came to *Surrey*, the Relator saw the Person standing upon a Seat to take a fuller View of *Richard Dugdale* in his Fit. *Richard Dugdale* immediately treated her so very rudely, discovered the Bisket, and said, I'll play at Cards with thee for those Guineas in thy Pocket, &c. These Words the Relator heard *Richard Dugdale* speak in his Fit. And further, *John Feilding*, Joyner, related in the hearing of the said *Nathaniel Waddington* and others, that he the said *John Feilding* was working at his Calling, above Thirty Miles distant from the *Surrey*; and that *Richard Dugdale* in one of his Fits said, *John Feilding* is this Day at such a Place Working, and further named the Piece of Work he had in Hand at that time. The said *John Feilding* coming over to see his Relations, several Persons who had heard *Richard Dugdale* speak these Words, and relate such strange Circumstances, came to the said *John Feilding* to know whether it was true; this he acknowledged, being much surprized at their Relation. Thirdly, That he asked this *Richard Dugdale*, when he came out of his Fits, whether he could give an Account of any of those Things which passed in the Fit; this *Richard Dugdale* denied: yet once related a strange Passage; That in his Fit he thought he had distinct Sight of a Person, and told the Posture he thought he saw him in, and the Place where, many Miles from the Place where *Richard* had his Fit. Which Things concerning that Person were found true upon Enquiry.

Nathaniel Waddington, further testifies, That *Richard Dugdale* in his Fits, would sometimes pretend that a good Spirit was in him, and that *Richard Dugdale* then would in a long Discourse speak against several Sins, viz. Drinking, Gaming, &c. bringing several similar Texts of Scripture; naming Book, Chapter, Verse, either whole

whole or Part, as much as was pertinent. Mr. *John Grimshaw* examined the Places, and found them true, and that *Richard Dugdale* in his Discourse would use many pretty Similitudes.

Joseph Hargreaves, Neighbour to *Nathaniel Waddington*, testifies, that coming to the Surrey, and finding the Boy laid on the Barn-Floor, he the said *Joseph Hargreaves* lifted *Richard Dugdale* from the Ground more than once, and thinks at the most, that *Richard Dugdale* did not weigh above a Stone and a half; and further that Six strong Men could not hold him in a Fit, but that he hath drawn them all a great Way, and been forced from amongst them, hanging upon him at a Table a Yard high; and that he saw the Lump upon his Leg, about the Bigness of a Turkey-Egg, rise towards his Body, and that he and others have endeavoured to stop it, by tying a Boot-Garter above it, and beneath the Knee, and by grasping the Part with their Hands, yet could not prevent its rising into the Chest of his Body; but this to his thinking crept up his Leg like a Bat; sometimes being in Motion, and sometimes at a Stand; *Joseph Hargreaves* testifies, the first and second of *Nathaniel Waddington's* Depositions.

Richard Chrichly, under his Hand testifies, concerning *Richard Dugdale's* Strength.

Several



Several other Testimonies as to Richard Dugdale's Case, are as followeth.

WE whose Names are Subscribed, being Ministers of the Gospel, having read or heard the Affidavits and Depositions taken before the Right Honourable *Hugh Lord Willoughby*, and *Ralph Egerton Esq;* Two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace, for the County Palatine of *Lancaster*, concerning one *Richard Dugdale* of *Surey*, in the Parish of *Whalley*, do verily believe the Truth of the same, and that the strange Fits of the said *Dugdale* were by a Diabolical Power.

*Given when we met
at Blackburn, in
Lancashire, on
August the 6th.
1695.*

*Thomas Crompton.
Peter Aspinwall.
John Crompton.
John Parr.*

*Samuel Angier.
Nathaniel Haywood.
Samuel Eaton.
Nathaniel Scholes.*

I do hereby testifie (as many more will if there be Occasion) from my own Observation as an Eye and Ear Witness, at the Meetings concerning *Richard Dugdale*, that I verily believe, he was then under a Diabolical Possession or Obsession. I do also testifie, That he is now delivered from that Super-natural Malady; and that no other probable Means of his Deliverance may be assigned, but the Word of God, and Prayer with fasting; which Spiritual Means was made use of by several Ministers with great Faithfulness and Diligence, for a considerable time together.

*Witness my Hand the
Tenth Day of June,
1695.*

Robert Whiteaker Physician.

Concerning



Concerning Richard Dugdale's Certificate, which is voluntarily Subscribed before James Gregson and my self, with others, which is elsewhere mentioned, the Words in the Original are as follows.

July the 10th, 1695.

I Richard Dugdale, Son of Thomas Dugdale, of Surrey, near Whalley, in Lancashire Gardiner; do Certifie all to whom this may come, That my former strange Fits, were not any of them by any Cheat, or Art of Man, that I know of, but, as I do verily believe, were caused by the Devil; from whom and from my terrible Fits, I do verily believe my Body was cleared, through the Ministers Prayers, at or about Lady Day, 1690. After which I never had any more such Fits, whereupon I went and took some Physick, for the clearing of my Body from any ill Humours, it might have gotten by my said Fits. Signed in the Presence of,

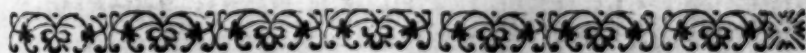
Witness my Hand,

*James Gregson.
Thomas Jolly.*

*Richard Dugdale.
We*

We whose Names are subscribed, were present at many of the within mentioned Meetings, concerning *Richard Dugdale*, and so were Eye and Ear Witnesses to many of the Things within mentioned, and do verily believe the rest, not doubting but that the said *Dugdale's* Affliction was through Possession or Obsession, by Combination, or some secret Judgment of God; from which he was delivered, as we are fully perswaded by the Gospel Means within mentioned.

<i>William Cross.</i>	<i>George Cockshut.</i>
<i>John Durden.</i>	<i>Samuel Hey.</i>
<i>Laurence Walmsly.</i>	<i>Charles Rily.</i>
<i>John Baxon.</i>	<i>James Hindle.</i>
<i>John Bayly.</i>	<i>Nathaniel Hindle.</i>
<i>Christopher Duckworth.</i>	<i>Richard Jackson.</i>
<i>Leonard Bayley.</i>	<i>William Barton.</i>
<i>John Marsh.</i>	<i>Christopher Tatterfeill.</i>
<i>James Whiteaker.</i>	<i>Richard Sudal.</i>
<i>William Waddington.</i>	<i>Nicholas Grimshaw.</i>



On the Occasion of some Reflections
Alexander Haworth gave the following.
 Certificate.

I *Alexander Hayworth*, of *Top-Royal*, in *Bury* Parish in *Lancashire*, Yeoman, going with the Reverend Mr. *Pendlebury*, to see *Richard Dugdale* in his strange Fits, at the first time, upon my asking him his Opinion of the said *Dugdale's* Fits, he answered, That he questioned whether the said

D. might not be acted, by some Bodily Distemper in the said Fits. But when the said *Pendlebury* had been with the said D. a second time, I asked him his Opinion again in the Case, and then he had altered his Perswasion concerning D. having such Things in him, as he judged more than natural, and he gave such Reasons for it as altered my Judgment as well as his.

Decemb. 25.

1697.

Alexander Haworth.

To these we shall add further Informations, as to the Case of the said *Richard Dugdale*, taken before the Right Honourable *Hugh Lord Willoughby* and *William Hulme*, Esq; Two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace, and *Quorum*, for the County Palatine of *Lancaster*, taken at the House of *Richard Sharples* of *Blackburn*, in the County aforesaid, the 15th, 16th and 17th of *September* 1697; where the Informants were examined by the said Justices, upon the Account of several Passages, in a Book called the *Surrey Impostor*.

The



The Confession of Richard Dugdale, of Whalley, in the County of Lancashire, Gardiner; taken before the Right Honourable Hugh Lord Willoughby, and William Hulme, Esq; two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace and Quorum, for the said County, taken at the House of Richard Sharples, of Blackburn, in the County aforesaid, the 15th Day of September, Anno Dom. 1697.

Impr. **T**HE said Richard Dugdale, answers and says, That he was in Health of Body and Mind, at the Age of Eighteen Years or thereabouts. About the Nineteenth Year he says, he was a hired Servant with *Thomas Lister* of *Arnald's-biggings*, in the County of *York*, Esq; and begging Leave of his said Master, to go to a Rushbearing at *Whalley*, and being in Drink, fell out at *Whalley* with a Man, and fought abundantly that Night about Dancing. He says afterwards he went to his Father's House. The Day after he went from his Father's House to *Arnold's-biggings*, and on the Road being troubled in Mind, he thought that he saw several Apparitions, but could not tell the Resemblance thereof. The Day afterwards, he says, he went to make Hay,

and he found himself clogged with some Heaviness, that he could not Work or Stoop; from thence he went to a Well, about a Field's Breadth from the Hall aforesaid, and saw a Gallon or Pail standing at the Well, and that he laid himself down to drink at the Well, and as he was Drinking, there came up to him a Neighbouring Woman of good Repute, and advised him not to drink so much Water, but rather to go up to the Hall, and get Drink; and told him that so much Water was enough to ruin him; and he says he took her Advice, and went up to the said Hall, and getting some Drink from the Cook-Maid, he went up into his Chamber, and being after some time laid down upon the Bed, the Chamber-Door opened of it self, as he thought, and there appeared something to him like a Smoak or Mist, which presently vanished, and afterwards there came partly a Fear upon him. Immediately after, he thought there came unto him, the Likeness of a hard favoured Man, which at that time he thought had been one *Hindle*, a fellow Servant, whose Hair seemed to be clipped close to his Ears, and lay very heavy upon his Breast, so that he asked him what he would do with him, which suddenly after speaking, he thought the Vision turned into the Likeness of a Naked Child; he says he thought, he got hold of the Naked Child by the Knee, and that the Child turned into the Likeness of a Filmet, and went away with a Shrill Schreak. All this was done when he was awake as he is now, to his thinking. Immediately after this, he says, that he was very rude and troublesome, so that two Women could scarce hold him, and that he raved of one Dr. *Chew*, and desired the Woman to send for his Uncle, to go with him to the said Doctor, who was the first and last Physician he had Physick from. He says, to the best of his Knowledge,

he

he thought he had little Advantage by the first Physick, but whether he took all or no he cannot tell. After the first Time of taking Physick from Dr. *Chew*, he went to Dr. *Crabtree*, and says the Doctor Blooded him several times, the first of which was as black as Ink, and that Blood was got with very great Difficulty. Afterwards he went to Dr. *Crabtree* a second time, and was blooded, and took Physick as before; and whilst he was with Dr. *Crabtree*, he says he was for some Two or Three Days, and sometimes a Fortnight without any Fit, and had sometimes Two or Three Fits in a Day. He says, his Senses were sometimes taken away from him in his Fits. He says, sometimes he could remember some Passages. After this he believes one *Robert Martin* advised his, the said *Dugdale's* Father, to advise his Son to apply himself to one Mr. *Jolly*, to desire his Prayers, where he fell into a Fit, but remembers no Discourse he had with Mr. *Jolly*. He the said *Richard Dugdale* says, he believes he was not possessed with an Evil Spirit. And he says likewise, that he had a Fit on the 24th of *March* last at Evening; and on the 25th of *March* in the Morning; he took Physick from Dr. *Chew*, and says that the Physick worked well with him, and since that time, he says, he never had any Fit, but says that the strange Things that befell him, occasions him to believe that the Disease was not Ordinary. And he likewise says, that he was not in any Combination with any Person, or Persons whatsoever, and that there was no Cheat in any Thing, to his Knowledge. He cannot remember that he could play any more Tricks than the rest of the School-Boys; and he denies that he ever spoke any such Things as are laid to his Charge, to the School-Master about the Money, and says, that he is no Latin Schollar, nor knows any of those Sentences charged upon him, neither

ther by Heart or otherwise. He says, he wrote a Letter to Sir *Edmund Ashton*, but remembers no Latin Sentence therein. He says likewise, that he never wrapped himself in a Blanket, in order to fright any Person. He says likewise, that after the Ministers left *Surrey*, he had not Fits so often as before, but they were more violent than ever before.

Taken before Us

Willoughby.

Will. Hulme.

Richard Dugdale.

Some Remarks concerning Richard Dugdale's Testimony.

IT does not seem strange, that he does not mention several Particulars, mentioned in the Narrative; particularly about the Beginning of his Fits, and when we began with him, and when we left off Meeting at *Surrey*; and when his Fits left him, &c. for he might easily forget the said Passages in Seven or Eight Years time, or be straitned by the Presence and Influence of some there present; but some of us noted down the said omitted Passages all along, and can satisfie any Sober Person, that all was true that is expressed in the said Narrative. He declared such Things to us, and desired such Things of us from first to last.

Neither should it seem strange that he does not expressly own the true Cause of his strange Fits;
nor

nor the only proper Means of his Deliverance (though he hath freely owned both, more privately, and under his own Hand;) for he is apparently over-awed by those, on whom he hath his Dependance, as to his Livelihood, and by his Neighbours; alledging in his Excuse, that he is a poor Man; hath a Wife and some small Children; a Temptation that might put a strong Christian to it to conquer it.

Yet does he by the foresaid Information fairly overturn the Objector's Foundations, for he owns himself sound in Body and Mind, when these Fits first seized him, and disowns them as any Ordinary Disease; and though in his Information, he says, he believes he was not Possessed with an Evil Spirit; he is partly to be excused, because he himself little knew how he was in those Fits; but when he heard how it was with him from others, and considered of it, he acknowledged that his strange Fits were caused by the Devil. And so must any one who exercises his Reason, and is not blinded with Passion.

He solemnly disowns any Thing of a Cheat, or Combination, that he knows of, in the Case, as his Father also doth; so that if it be not any ordinary Disease, nor Cheat, nor Combination, What must it then be? And what must there follow? Especially when all the Informations are well weighed; so that any sober Person may easily judge of the Malady, as well as the Remedy.

For as much as the Informations both Private and Publick are called over again before Authority, it is to take away all Suspicion of Private or Unfair dealing; and what he now acknowledges, confirms and adds to what was said before.

John Walmsley confirms what he formerly testified, and adds, I have heard *Richard Dugdale* in his Fit

say, That he had a Familiar, Or how should I tell such Things as I do? I have seen *Richard Dugdale* stand upon his Feet with his Arms open, and I have swayed at his Arm and Hand, till I have been afraid of breaking it, and could not stir either his Body, or a Joint of his Arm or Fingers. And when it was reported, that *Mr. Braddil* would send him to the House of Correction, I have seen *Richard Dugdale* use scornful Expressions towards him, calling, *John, John*, Come you must make a *Mittimus*! I will send him away, (or Words to this purpose;) then he would cast up his Shoulder like *Mr. Edleston*, and appear as if he would have Written with his Finger in the Ball of his Hand, with scornful Language and Laughter. I have seen him in his Fits at *Mr. Walmsly's*, *Mr. Cranbrook's* and *Mr. Braddil's*, so that any of them might have seen him coming forth of them. They at *Surrey* have come for us, at our House, to assist them; and we have gone, and *Robert Turner* along with us, and taken Ropes and tied them about *Richard Dugdale's* Middle. *Robert Turner* hath gone to the Hedge to get a Stake to beat him with; but *Richard Dugdale* hath managed the Matter so, that he hath broke or slipped the Rope, so that we have been forced to Jay hold of him. And *Robert Turner* hath been satisfied, that contending with him would do no Good. Besides, I have seen *Dugdale* make towards *Robert Turner*, when in a Fit, and offer to pull the Skale-boos down to come to him; and that *Robert Turner* hath gone back, lest he should have gotten hold of him; and I never perceived, that *Richard Dugdale* ever valued Persons or Place wherever he was. I have seen him likewise have his Arms about his Neck; and they have been so fast that no one could pull them asunder, till opened of themselves. I likewise once came behind him when he was Dancing, and pushed him off

off the Place where he was, and he turned at me again, and his Father offered to help me, but they all could not so much as open a Finger of *Dugdale's* Hand, but he held me there, till his Fingers opened of themselves. I likewise put up my Hand to open his Fingers, but found that I could do no good; to my thinking, I might as well have offered to have broken a Bar of Iron. I verily think it was no Cheat of *Dugdale*. As to hearing his Voice, I told Mr. *Braddil* it was betwixt the *Surrey* and *Mill-Lane-Head*, which he and Mr. *Barlow*, took to be a Mile and a Half; but I have enquired of Neighbours since, and we conclude it to be two Miles. Besides *Surrey* stands in a Bortom, and I believe any unbiaſſed Man, cannot but think, that one might have heard him Four Miles another Way, as well as that Two; for *Surrey* stands close to a rough River which makes a great Noise; besides Woods and all against the Hand. As to *Dugdale's* School-tricks, I learned when he did, I believe Three or Four Years; and I never saw or heard such Things as *Edward Slayter* relates.

John Walmsly.

This is further added to the former Confession, taken before Us, the 16th Day of September, 1697, at the House of *Richard Sharple's* in *Blackburn*.

Memorandum. Some Passages in *Walmsly's* Information are thought fit to be waved, having Reflections on some, and not to be made use of, unless there be special Occasion for them.

Willoughby.

Will. Hulme.

John Livesay, of *Clayton*, confirms what he had before testified, and further testifies, That *Richard Dugdale* was seemingly Dead, or in a Trance, when he heard singing of *Psalms*, as if from the said *Dugdale's* Breast, exactly tuneable, and in Consort to the singing of *Psalms* in the Meeting-House, before the Door of which, he lay as Dead. He also says, he heard the Voice of *Richard Dugdale* a Mile and a Half distance from the *Surey*, exactly such as it used to be, when he was with him. He says also, That at *Wiswel Eues*, near *Mr. Walmsly's*, he saw him in an outrageous Fit, before several Gentlefolks, not leaving his Fit for fear of them, and saying to their Maid, *Nasom*, Give me the Pipe out of thy Pocket; and she chanced to have one.

John Livesay.

Dr. Whiteaker, testifies, That it was proposed to him, to undertake the Cure of *Richard Dugdale* by Physical Means, which he declined, he concluding it to be more than a Natural Distemper.

Robert Whiteaker.

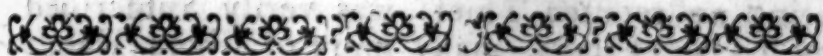
John Fletcher, of *Harwood*, testifies, That he knows nothing of any Papers, that were laid in any Place for *Richard Dugdale* to take, when he was Frisking about, as *Mr. T.* suggests. Nor did he know that *Richard* ever took any Stones from any Place in his said Friskings. And he says, He believes that there was no trick of *Legerdemain* about *Webster's* Knife, as appeared from his and *John Mercer's* best Observations. And he says, that he saw a large Pin pricked, not into the Lump-
on

on his Body, but directly into his Heel, not a slope, but directly downwards into the Flesh towards his Toes. And he says he knows nothing of any Bodies teaching him to call *Richard's Fit*, a Dumb Fit. And he confirms the Information which he formerly gave to be true.

John Fletcher.

Edward Haworth, of *Rushers*, confirms the Information he formerly gave, concerning *Richard Dugdale* to be true; and particularly that about *Robert Turner*.

Edward Haworth.



The Confession of John Fielding, of Harwood, a Conformist; taken before the Right Honourable Hugh Lord Willoughby, and William Hulme Esq; Two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace, and Quorum; taken at the House of Richard Sharples, in Blackburn, the 16th Day of September, 1697.

Impr. **J**ohn Fielding confesses, and says, That being impowered by his Lease to cut down Wood, for House-boot, Plough-boot and Cart-boot, and Hedge-boot, he did however ask Leave of his Land-Lord to cut down Five Trees, for repairing his House, which were by his Land-Lord's Orders marked out by one *Edward Ryley*, all growing on his own Tenement; one of which
being

being a Handful too short, he cut it not down, but one taller though worse in its stead, which Wood not sufficing for the said House Repair, he bought more to make it out; notwithstanding which the Land-Lord sued him about the said Trees. Whereupon he, by the Advice of his Neighbours and Friends, tendered his Land-Lord Five Pounds, in hopes of having it all returned back again, but his Land-Lord kept it all, and afterwards struck him. He likewise says, That having lived for many Years in *Lincolnshire*, where he was Nicknamed *Lancashire Fielding*, which is Three-score Miles distant from this *Surrey*; yet coming to *Surrey*, to see the *Demoniack*, he in a Fit cried, There comes *Lancashire Fielding*. He also says, That the Certificate shewed before us, about his being no reputed Thief, was verily Subscribed by his Neighbours, many more of whose Hands he might have got, had he desired them.

John Fielding.

Thomas Booth, of *Hay-Houses*, Confesses at the same Time, and declares, That his former Examination was true, and further adds, that he and another striving to lift him up, could not stir him off the Spot, and yet within a Quarter of an Hour after, he alone laid hold upon him about the Hips, and lifted him up about Three quarters of a Yard high, and held him for a considerable Time, and felt him to be no heavier than his Stick, and his whole Body was straight and stiff; after which he having laid him down, saw him in his Dead Fit half an Hour longer, without any Motion from *Richard*, either as he lay or as he was lifted up.

Thomas Booth.

These

These Informations were taken before Us, the
26th Day of September, 1697.

Willoughby.
Will. Hulme.

John Smalley, of *Harwood*, testifies, That his Information formerly given about *Richard Dugdale* was true, and he is sure that *Richard's* Shoes mentioned therein were buckled just before they flew off, nor had he any Hand himself in loosening them or helping them off, nor knew of any other Person, or outward means confederate, or assisting in their flying off.

John Smalley.

Lawrence Robertshaw, of *Harwood*, testifies, That the Information he formerly gave in the *Surrey Damoniack* was true.

Lawrence Robertshaw.

William Livesay, testifies, That the Information he formerly gave in the *Surrey Damoniack* is true; and says, He saw two Stones thrown into the Barn End, which *Richard* foretold were a coming, which he took up, and felt them more than ordinary warm. Nor did he go up and down to pick up company to go to the *Surrey*, nor knows he of any Spy that went over the Fields, or any other-ways to give Intelligence.

William Livesay.

These

These Informations were given before Us, the
16th Day of September, at the House of Richard
Sharple of Blackburn, 1697.

Willoughby.
William Hulme.

John Jolly, testifies, That the private Information
of Thomas and Anne Dugdale, Parents to Richard
Dugdale, with Mary and Alice Dugdale, Sisters to
the said Richard Dugdale, which is mentioned
and Printed in the *Surrey Dæmoniack*, was
freely declared to him by the Parties afore-
said, at Surrey, July 31, 1695. And that the In-
formation aforesaid was by him put down in
Writing in their own Words and Meanings. And
that all the said Informations were distinctly read
over to the Parties aforesaid, to which they vo-
luntarily put their Marks.

John Jolly.

This was affirmed before Us, the 16th Day of
September, 1697.

Willoughby.
William Hulme.

James Abbot does under his Hand testifie, That
when Dugdale had told me of my *Cheshire* and
Staffordshire Journey. I came home and told our
Folks, that I wondered what I might go into
Cheshire for, we none of us having any Occasion
thither; we had afterwards a Letter which came
to inform us from *Beverly*, that one *Elizabeth Gundy*
would come over to see her Grandfather, and
from

from thence into *Cheshire* to *Knulsford*; but in all this I never thought of *Staffordshire*, nor had I ever been there, nor ever thought that I should have gone there; yet when it fell so out, I called to Remembrance, that *Dugdale* told me of it.

James Abbot.

This is further added to the former Confession taken before Us, the 16th Day of September, 1697, at the House of *Richard Sharples* of *Blackburn*.

Willoughby.

William Hulme.

Joseph Hargreaves, testifies, That his former Confession in the *Surrey Démoniack* is true.

Joseph Hargreaves.

Nathaniel Waddington Confesses and Testifies, That the Information he formerly gave, concerning *Richard Dugdale* is true, except what is mentioned about *Fielding*, and likewise what was mentioned about the Gold and Bisket, which he only heard by Report. He further says, He was present when *Dugdale* accused the Gentlewoman of having Bisket in her Pocket, and challenged her to Play at Cards, for the Gold she had in her Pocket; but says, he cannot tell whether she had any or no; but it was generally reported that she had both in her Pocket.

Nathaniel Waddington.

William.

William Fort, of *Altham*, confesses and testifies, That he saw *Richard Dugdale* in one of his Fits at his Father's House in *Altham*, and that for half a Quarter of an Hour together he stood straight up, and was as one Dead, and breathless. He says, That he himself and others, all the While held a Candle to his Mouth and Nostrils, and could not in the least perceive, that he had any Breath in his Body. Before this, whilst he was in his Fit, he says, he saw his Body rise up from the Ground Five or Six times, being stiff and straight, Three quarters of a Yard above Ground, and that he did not bend in any Joint whatever; but with sudden Motions was thrown from his Back to his Belly; and so likewise from his Belly to his Back, rising Three quarters of a Yard from the Ground as he turned himself. He likewise says, that he heard him sing some Verses of a *Psalm* in Latin; and some Scholars that were present said it was true Latin.

William Fort.

These Informations were taken before Us, the 17th Day of September, 1697.

Willoughby.
William Hulme.

The further Information of *William Sellers*, of *Pendleton*, Husbandman, concerning *Richard Dugdale*, which he is ready to take his Oath upon, when he is called to it, and it be within compass, considering his great Age and Bodily weakness.

Whereas I did heretofore make Oath, as to several Particulars of *Richard Dugdale's* Case, before the Right Honourable the Lord *Willoughby*, and *Ralph Egerton Esq*; two of his Majesties Justices of the

the Peace for the County of *Lancaster*; I do now upon Occasion more particularly exprefs and explain my said Testimony as follows.

I did lift up the said *Richard Dugdale* several times; and because I thought it very strange, that he should be so light, I do well remember, that I did once my self, without any help, lift him up by his Legs all at once, about a Yard from the Barn-floor, and held him up so long as I could well judge of his weight, *Richard Dugdale's* Uncle being present, when he was as light as a Hat or a walking Cane, and as straight as a Cane. He was then in a dead Fit, and continued therein some considerable time, after I had laid him down again; all this I do faithfully testify.

Witness my Hand,

William Sellers.

John Birch.

This Paper being read before the Right Honourable the Lord *Willoughby*, and *Will. Hulme Esq*; was approved by them, as delivered by *John Birch* to them, but could not be subscribed in *William Sellers's* Absence.

John Hindle testifies further, That he and *John Walmsly* were present when *Richard Dugdale* had his last Fit in *Surrey-Barn*; where in his Fit *Richard Dugdale* said it was Obsession, and in a Combination, and that he might never have more Fits, and it should never be discovered whilst the World endured.

John Hindle.



As to the following Informations, they were brought to me, after the Meeting at Blackburn; and much more might be given in to the same purpose, if there were need for it; and that we made it our business to seek further Testimony, though the Thing happened so many Years ago; and that the Informants testifying thereunto, be so much against their Worldly Interest.

ANNE Whiteaker, who at that Time, when Richard Dugdale had those strange Fits, was Servant to Major Rowel of Morton, next House to Surrey. She Testifies that Richard Dugdale told her, that his said Fits began at Westly-Hall, as it is commonly called, as he was making Hay; upon which he came into the said Hall, and laid himself down upon a Bed, according to the Advice of a Servant there. Then he said, That Five or Six Evil Spirits appeared to him; and then the Appearance of a Black Man did grin at him, and pressed very hard upon him. Then both the Spirits and the Man danced upon the Floor, and then vanished in a Flame of Fire.

She also testifies, That at a certain Time, when a Fit was coming on him at Morton, he fell a Dancing and Roaring hideously; then he fell to the

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the Ground, and had something rising under his Cloaths as if it were quick; and that it begun in the very Part of his Body, where he said that Grim Man pressed him so hard at the first. Also, that whilst he lay in the said Fit, he sweat so much, that one might wipe it off his Cloaths; and all the Flaggs under him were wet with it. She also testifies, That she often saw *Richard Dugdale* in his Fits at *Surrey*, and that he was much after the same manner.

The said *Anne* does also testifie, That Mr. *Batton Shuttleworth*, being at the said *Morton*, upon Occasion, he followed her to *Surrey*; she her self then not knowing of his following her; yet *Richard Dugdale* told of Mr. *Batton's* coming, tho' *Richard Dugdale* could not see him, nor did any one tell him of his Coming. He did also in a Fit tell several Young Persons of their Resolution to go to an Ale-House, and what they Spent (*viz.* Two-pence a-piece). This one of the Parties did Confess to the said *Anne*, and that it was indeed so as *Richard Dugdale* had told.

The said *Anne* does also testifie, That her said Master had oft Occasion to make use of all the *Surgery* Family, about his Worldly Affairs; and that she never perceived any Thing about any of them, that might give the least Occasion of Suspicion, as to their being Guilty of Witchcraft, or of any cheating Practices.

Anne Whiteaker.

Nicholas

Nicholas Haworth, of *Albam*, Miller, testifies, as followeth. I have seen *Richard Dugdale* in his Fits, run about the *Surrey-Barn* on all Four, as fast as any Man that I ever saw, could run upon his two Feet. I have seen the Lump in *Richard Dugdale's* Leg rise upwards, and although I have endeavoured to keep it down, by girding it with a Belt or Boot-Garter, a little above it, yet never could; for it still would shoot under. I have heard *Richard Dugdale* harr and bark like any Mastiff; so that I have been very much afraid of him. I have heard *Richard Dugdale* whisper at the Wall of the *Surrey-Barn*, and to my thinking refuse to do something. He hath fallen flat upon his Back as if something had tripped up his Heels. After he had lain a while, he would have risen as soon as a Man can turn his Hand; and his Rising was so sudden that one could scarce perceive it.

Nicholas Haworth.

John Hindle, of *Albam*, testifies as followeth: I have seen *Richard Dugdale* ly on the *Surrey-Barn*-floor in some of his Fits, and very suddenly he was set on his Feet, without the Bending of any Part of his Body, that I could perceive; I could liken it to nothing but one's Raising a Stick on an End. I have also seen a Lump on *Richard Dugdale's* Shoulder, about the Bigness of an Hen's-Egg, and have offered to hold it down, but could not. One time standing behind *Richard Dugdale*, he being then in a Fit, I heard him say to *Mr. Carington*, Thou shalt be Porter of Hell-Gates, Thou'lt have Brewis and Toad-Broath.

John Hindle.

Joshua

Joshua Thomason, of *Entwistle*, in the Parish of *Bolton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Yeoman, witnesses as followeth.

It was publickly reported about us, That a certain Young Man called *Richard Dugdale*, living at *Surrey*, was possessed with the Devil; upon which several of my Neighbours concluding to go and see the said *Dugdale*, I went with them; and coming to *Surrey*, it happened to be a Day appointed by the Ministers to be spent in Prayer, and other Religious Exercises for the said *Dugdale*, Mr. *Jolly*, one of the Ministers present, being earnest in Prayer for the Party Afflicted, That the Lord would free him from so sad an Affliction. *Dugdale* being then in one of his Fits in the *Surrey-Barn*, with a loud Voice, said many times over, O thou crying *Jolly*, thou shalt never cast me out. In the same Fit, the said *Dugdale* cried out, O *Carlile*, *Carlile*, *Carlile*, (so he called Mr. *Carrington*.) After this as Mr. *Jolly* was ending his Prayer, and was ready to dismiss the Assembly, Mr. *Carrington* came to the Barn Door, where kneeling down he pulled out a little Bible, and looking in the same, *Dugdale* cried out several times, *Carlile* read upon the Wall; Mr. *Jolly* and the other Ministers seeing Mr. *Carrington*, desired him to go to Prayer. Whilst Mr. *Carrington* was at Prayer, *Dugdale* still cried out in a Language unknown to me, when Mr. *Carrington* had done Prayer, he applied his Discourse to *Dugdale*, and said, Thou declarest thy self to be an Unclean Spirit, thou art such a Reviler. *Dugdale* and Mr. *Carrington* continued their Discourse together a long time; one while Mr. *Carrington* spoke, then *Dugdale*, then Mr. *Carrington*. I could understand Mr. *Carrington* very well; for he, as I suppose answered *Dugdale* very soberly, and with some Texts of Scripture: But I could not understand one Word of *Dugdale's* Discourse to Mr. *Carrington*,

Carrington, and I find several Sentences that *Mr. Carrington* spoke, are Printed in a Book called the *Surrey Démoniack*.

At Night *Mr. Jolly*, *Mr. Waddington* and *Mr. Carrington* examined *Dugdale* whether he had made any Contract with the Devil or not, either by Writing, Word or any other way? To which *Dugdale* answered, That there was no such Contract as he knew of. Whereupon the Ministers told him, that if he had any Contract or Bargain with the Devil, they could not help him, except he would first make an Ingenuous Confession. *Dugdale's* Mother upon this with seeming Earnestness said, I pray thee *Richard* if thou hast made any Bargain or Contract Confess it. Thou had'st better Confess it now: To which *Richard* answered somewhat faintly, I know of none. *Mr. Jolly* then asked *Dugdale* how then can thou answer several Questions, and tell many Things which cannot be done by lawful Art, thou having seemingly whispered with something at a Hole or Corner of the Barn? *Mr. Jolly* said further, how couldst thou Name those Persons that came from *Hastlingden*, and tell them at what Ale-House they called, and how much they drank; out of what Vessels, Cans or Cups; what every one Paid, whether Silver, Half-pennies or Farthings, and how many of each, and so particularly what Change was returned to any of the Company? To these *Dugdale* answered that he could not tell any of these out of his Fit: But in his Fit it seems, he going to the aforesaid Hole or place in the Barn, a Voice declared to him all the Answers proper to the several Questions that had been asked him, and further told him what Things had been done by the Persons aforesaid at a considerable Distance from *Surrey*.

Likewise the Ministers examined *Dugdale* about an Elephant-Hafted-Knife, which was found in his

his Mouth in a Fit, how he came by it? *Dugdale* said he could not tell.

Another Time when I came to see *Dugdale*, I found him out of his Fit, and entring into Discourse with him, he told me how his Fits began with him at the first. Several then present also told me, that still in his foregoing Fit, his Spirit foretold when his next Fit should come, and how long it should continue. I asked how he knew when his Fit began. *Dugdale* said, always when my Fit begins, I lose my Sight; yet to my thinking an Old Man, in a Black-Mantle appears in the Beginning of my Fit, and goes before me over the Green, and leads straight way into the Barn, and if I be not there, I cannot but follow him. At the End of this Discourse, *Dugdale* suddainly rose up from his Seat in the House, and went into the Barn, where he fell flat upon his Back. When he had lain a While, he was turned on his Belly; as he lay, something in the Calf of his Leg leaped up very often. Upon this I took his Leg betwixt my Hands, yet still it leaped and sprinted, as if I had a small Chicken in my Hand, especially when I strove to hold it down. After this he was turned on his Back again, and still I perceived that leaping in the Calf of his Leg, and it jutted out as far as his Stocking could stretch. This after some time rose up, and went up his Thigh to his Breast, and as it went a long, it thrust up his Cloaths the Height of one's Fist. This Lump rose as high as the Collar of his Doublet; and then (though at other times his Face and Neck were of a White or Pale Colour) his Neck and Face were as red as Blood. I could not see any Eyes that he had, but the Holes were the same Colour with his Face, upon this he was set on his Feet in a trice, without the Natural use of Arms and Legs, and without Bending any Part of his Body,

Body, as one raises a Stick or Board to an end very nimbly; and then he went to the aforesaid Hole, at the End of the Barn, and laid his Mouth a While to the Hole.

Soon after he turned him about to the Company, and reeling down the Barn came to the Ring where he used to Dance, and said I have a Message to deliver to you all. In the First Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, Chap. 5. Verse 16. *Rejoyce evermore.* This Verse he Expounded very handsomely and seriously, shewing what it was to rejoyce evermore, and in what way we must do it; He spoke to this Verse a long while in good Order and Words; and from other Scriptures proved what he said. Yet when he had done, he fleeingly said, But which of us does so? Then he came to the Seventeenth Verse, and shewed what it was to Pray, and what to Pray without ceasing, and this he did as well as the former, then ended it, saying, Which of us does so? He also Expounded the 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, Verses, and ended the Exposition of every Verse with, but which of us does so; and besides that, at the End of the last said, Ha! Ha! and then danced very cleverly.

After this *Dugdale* with his Hands and Arms drummed on his Side, and with that and a Noise that he made in his Throat, any one, who had not seen or known his Fashions, would have taken it to be a Drum: I heard a Man there present, who had been in *Ireland* say, That *Dugdale* did then beat a March exactly, which was used by the *Irish*, which he never heard in *England*. Then he danced again, after that fell flat on the Floor, and as he lay on the Floor along, a lusty strong Man who had been Fellow Servant with *Dugdale*, came Hectoring into the Barn, and said, Come *Dick*, They say thou art Posselt, if thou be, I can get thee Help, but I think thou art not, for
thou

wast always a good Lad. This Fellow would needs shake Hands with *Dugdale*, and talked over him a long time, till being perswaded, he sat down at the Barn-side. Soon after *Dugdale* leaped up, and ran to the aforefaid Hole; and as he turned him about, he called the Man by his Name, and said, Art thou come to see me? Thou hast got a Bottle of Ale in *Whalley*, and hast left thy Horse there. The Man said, If thou can tell that (*Dick*) thou art Possessed, and I can get thee Help. *Dugdale* said further to him, Thou thinkst to have another when thou goest back, and a Wheat-Cake, and I'll fill thy Wheat-Cake with Sparables, and in such a Lane I'll break thy Neck. The Man said, I fear thee not, and all the Devils in Hell to help thee. After this *Dugdale* stooped down and gathered up a deal of Rushes, which he would but could not make a Thumb-Rope of; however he drew them out a pretty Length, and got them about the Man's Neck, with which *Dugdale* hurled him about, as if he had been a little Dog; and the Man could not with all his Strength get loose, till the Rushes broke. The Man after this was extream tame and quiet.

Dugdale discovered many Things of several Persons, particularly a Woman, who came from towards *Burnly*. *Dugdale* came up to her, and smelling at her, called her by her Name, and said, O! Art thou there? thou got some Stone-Fruit at such a Place (which *Dugdale* named) as thou came, and thou intendest to have more. The Woman Blushed and slipped away.

Then *Dugdale* fell flat on the Earth again, and as he lay he began to draw himself on a Heap, and then harred and snarled like a Mastiff-Dog. A Mastiff which then lay in the Cow-House, harred and barked fiercely at *Dugdale* again, and had leaped at him if some had not put him out.

L

Much

Much more I could have told of him; but through Distance of Time, it is now slipped out of my Memory.

November, 12.

1697.

Joshua Thomason.



Some Remarkable Passages which were taken Notice of from the first, as to the Case of Young Dugdale, of Surrey, near Whally, in Lancashire, Aged about Nineteen or Twenty Years.

UPON the Twenty Ninth of April, 1689, in the Morning, Richard Dugdale came to my House, desiring the Liberty, and I having granted it; he had signified his Mind to that Purpose, a quarter of a Year before; but the Messenger failed to give Notice, until a Day or Two before he came.

He and his Relation that came along with him, gave such an Account of his Case, that I saw Cause to suspect he was Possessed by an Evil Spirit; and I was further satisfied concerning it, whilst we were at Family Duty, at which he was present.

The Fit did then seize on him, partly whilst I was reading, and opening the Word, but much worse whilst I was at Prayer. His Motions in his Fit were very strong, particularly turning the Sight of his Eyes inward, and thus making him quite Blind, whilst his Eye-lids were open, with other

other Motions preternatural. He had also such strong Motions as were above his natural Ability and Agility; but I was more confirmed by that Rage he was in, against the Ordinance of God, especially when Christ was solemnly named, and his Condition was earnestly commended to the Lord. Then he raged as if the Devil had been in his Bodily Shape, though he manifested other Inclinations to the Word and Prayer when he was not in his Fit. And he was in Health of Body to all outward Appearance at the same time.

Other Means he had used, both Lawful and Unlawful, so that Prayer and Fasting seemed to be the only proper Means in his Case. Accordingly he desired that we would keep a Day of Prayer and Fasting on his behalf.

Accordingly we met at the *Sparth*, upon the Eighth of *May*. Before we began to Exercise (the Pastor of another Society being present to assist in the Work) we examined the Parents and the Young Man himself; as to the Occasion of the Affliction they at that time confessed, that both Father and Son were in Drink at *Whalley Rush*-bearing upon the *James-Tide* before; that they then had a Scuffle with a Young Man, whom they suspected, or his Partakers to be Instrumental in this Mischief.

We also enquired as to the Means they had made use of already, and convinced them of the Evil of some unlawful Means they had made use of. One Instrument they made use of was *Mr. Grabsree*. We also shewed them that these Means we were about, were appointed by Christ in this Case, and that they might hope for a Blessing in this Way. Multiplying of Prayers and other Services being in vain, if there be not Repentance and Reformation withal. God regards not to answer in Mercy, where there is a secret Regard to an Iniquity. We see to whom the Promise of

Mercy belongs, *Prov. 28. 13. viz. Those who confess their Sins, and forsake them, through Divine Grace.*

We then proceeded to the Word and Prayer, the Scripture insisted on being *Acts 26. 18. To turn them from the Power of Satan to God.* The Power which Satan hath in Particular and in General is Matter of Lamentation and Supplication. The Lord rebuke Satan, and rescue Sinners from his Power. He had two dreadful Fits in the Time of the Exercise. He also confessed several Apparitions he had upon the Riot at *James-Tide*, and Offers of God to him, &c.

One *Sabbath* he was quiet under the Ordinance all the while; another *Sabbath* he was extream rude all the while. He commonly attended at our Meeting under his Affliction.

Upon their Desire we kept another Day, the 28th Instant, on his behalf. The Concourse of the People was much greater; and he was extreamly rude in his Fits all the while; yet we continued in the Word and Prayer all the while as before. Thus the Providence of God puts his Servants upon Tryal, and withal put his Spirit into them, that they may be more Instant and Importunate with him in Prayer: He needs not intreating; it is we that need exciting; and we are humbly bold to say, the Lord did graciously help us.

Our Third Meeting on his behalf was at *Surrey*, and because of its Vicinity to *Whally*, we acquainted Mr. *Jea* the Vicar with the Occasion, that he might take no Offence. All the While the Evil Spirit worked in the *Demoniack*, yet it broke not out into a Fit; but afterwards the Evil Spirit broke out in a most violent Manner, and discovered more than ordinary Rage against Mr. *Waddington*; and the Subject insisted on was, *Ephes. 6. 12. The Rulers of the Darkness of*
this

this World, shewing the dark Regions where the Devil rules.

This *Surrey*, the Place of the Party's Habitation, was recorded and certified according to Law: Providence set as upon the publick Stage, that the Thing might not be done in a Corner.

On the following *Sabbath* there was yet a greater Concourse of People; many came to see him, but heard something that affected them also; the Sermon being to shew, that many are under the Power of Sin and Satan, in a less sensible, and therefore in a more dangerous Manner. We were without Distraction from the *Demoniack* all the While.

Another *Sabbath* he was very ill, through all the Time of the Exercise; and afterwards as I stood by him, he spurned at me with great Violence, grinning, and spitting at me in a strange manner, but he hurt me not. I could little think of any ill Intent therein of his; I only took it for the Devil's Spite at me.

With respect to the *Sabbath* before; God hath his Ends as well as Men have theirs; we designed it not to draw People to our Meeting, nor indeed perhaps did many design to hear the Word, much less to get Good thereby. It was far from *Onesimus's* Design in fleeing to *Rome*, that he should there be converted by *Paul's* Ministry. Christ's End for the Conversion of the Woman of *Samaritan*, was not her Errand to *Jacob's* Well.

The next Day upon this Occasion, was at *Surrey*, upon the Fifth of *July*; the Lord was gracious to the Assembly and Party also, in freeing us sometimes from those grievous Distractions, which at other times we had upon this Occasion. The Lord pitied us particularly with respect to the Lord's Day, that Day of Rest, that we might the better sanctifie it. Yet had we Spiritual

Rest, whilst in our Way and at our Work; when he was at the Worst, we were helped to wait on the Lord without Distraction within, however. He was a very present Help.

The next Meeting on this Occasion was on the 16th Instant, though the Youth knew nothing of it upon the Lord's Day before (nor any of the Family) concerning this Meeting; yet in a Fit upon the said Lord's Day, he foretold of this Day, and told of the Number of Ministers, *viz.* Five, when as none of the Ministers themselves knew it would be so. The Devil raged exceedingly at this Meeting; it may be the great Confluence of People on this Occasion enraged him the more; had not the Lord helped us mightily, we had been outdone by him. He played upon the Younger Ministers very severely, until they got above him.

As the Evil Spirit filled the *Jews* with Envy, Contradicting and Blaspheming, when they saw the Multitudes flocking to hear the Word of God; so in this Case. Yet were not the People affrighted, but followed on; yea the Concourse was still greater.

On the Sabbath following we were Mercifully freed from Disturbance by the *Demoniack*, until the Close of the Exercise.

We were in our Place at our Work; we should not hinder the People from coming, nor give place to the Devil; but the Lord was pleased as he thought fit, to make him give place to us, being met together in the Name of Christ. It is he that rebuketh Satan; It's through him only that the Weapons of our Warfare are mighty. Alas! we are meaner, weaker than others, than any.

On the 25th Instant we had another Opportunity on this Occasion. The Young Man was detained from us most of the Time, by Reason of

of several Trances he was in. The Multitude of the People was very great, so that it caused great Distraction and Danger. Also a Hay-Loft in the Barn being broken down by the Weight of the People: Yet through God's special Providence there was no further harm done. This Meeting was in *Altham*.

We were forced many Times to meet in Out-Houses, the Crouds of the People being so very great, our Chappel also being rather at an Outside from the Ordinary Congregation. We did for their Ease sometimes meet elsewhere, having Christ's Example and Encouragement thereunto; all the Places of Meeting being also Licensed according to Law.

The next Day on this Occasion was at *Surrey*, the 1st of *August*, and then the Youth was quiet all the While. Here the Young Man dwelt with his Parents. His Father and he were Gardiners; it being about a Mile from *Whalley*. Should there not have been some Respite sometimes, it had scarce been possible for the Man or us to have held out. We mention it, that others may see the Lord's Mercy, as well as our Infirmary. We would not so far offend others, as to meet at *Surrey* upon a Lord's Day, it being so near *Whalley*, yea all our Meetings were ordered as inoffensively as might be.

Again at the same Place on the 23d Instant, the Devil raged in the Young Man exceedingly, discovering himself more than ever, by the *Demoniack's* Discovery of several Things in his Fit, which could not be discovered but by a Diabolical Means. That Subject, *John* 16. 8, 9, 10, 11. was several Days insisted on there, and also at our Lord's Day Meetings.

In my Absence Mr. *Waddington* and the Rest of our Society, had a Day in *Read* upon this *Dugdale's* Account, though he was not present. Indeed

deed he was mostly present at the Meetings, whether on his Account or not, though not always. I was absent at this Time only, and so I have no further Advantage of giving an Account of this Affair.

Upon the Third of September, we again met at Surrey on Young Dugdale's Account. As I went to the Place of the Meeting he gave me Notice by a little Paper, which he put into my Hand; that, as his Spirit told him in his Fit, he must be Dumb and Deaf whilst we Prayed; immediately upon his Delivery of the Note to me, he became both Dumb and Deaf all the while that the Exercise continued. Note, That he sometimes out of his Fit discovered what he heard, and saw in his Fit, being done at a great Distance, at the same time: As the Prophet would by Means of a Good Angel tell what was done at a great Distance. But commonly he, out of his Fit did not know what happened in his Fit. We would deal plainly on the one hand as well as the other.

We were but few to carry on the Work, so that we continued not so long as at other times. They shewed us at that time a large Button, and a Curtain-Ring; but especially a large cornered Stone; all which the Young Man had vomited to the Astonishment of all. Also we had an Account of several Latin Words and Phrases which he uttered, though he knew nothing of them; his natural and acquired Abilities being but small.

Upon the 5th Instant we met at the same Place, upon the same Occasion. The Lord brought in more Ministers for our Help, and the Meeting was very full. Satan was chained up, and the Demoniac gave us not much Disturbance.

We met in the same Place in the same Manner, upon the Tenth Instant; the Concurrence of
People

People being as great though the Weather was very bad. Satan was silenced this Day also. It seems the *Demoniack* was told by his Spirit in his Fits, that he must not be delivered as yet, but be as *Lot's Wife*, a Warning to others.

Mr. *Waddington* and my self, were on the 19th Instant called to *Surrey*. The Occasion was; The Devil, in one of the Young Man's Fits, had signified something of a Contract which the Youth had made with him, for a certain Time, by Subscribing to a Parchment. A Jade (as he stiled her) taking one of his Hands out of the Bed, and putting One or Two of his Fingers to the Writing. We were also informed, that the Youth had written to Sir *E. A.* their Landlord, to signify to him that he got no Good by our Prayers, and so he seemed to grow weary of our Pains. It concerned us to hear these two Things; but he was then in a Fit, and continued so as long as we staid, so that we could not examin him as to the former. As for the latter, he dealt very unworthily with us, considering the Care and Charge we had been at for his Relief every way. Had he not manifested himself free, and forward for our Proceedings thus far, we had desisted before this. We had upon this desisted, had not the Youth confessed his Fault, and his Father desired us to go on.

On the 26th Instant, we again met at the *Surrey*, upon the same Account; and the Reverend Mr. *O. Harwood* came in also on that Day to our Help. The Lord sent us that suitable Word by him, 1 *John* 3. 8. I thought it requisite to say something also, as to our Call to the Work, and Conduct therein, as to the Case and present Circumstances also. The Truth is, we were then in great Doubt and Distress; for as we are Men subject to the like Infirmities with others, so our Temptations were then more than

than ordinary; in so much that it was very necessary for us to look very narrowly into the Case, our Course, and Carriage also. We had need to be satisfied from our selves, when we had so little Satisfaction from others.

Upon the Desire of Young *Dugdale*, the Junior Minister of the Company staid with him that Night. The Devil (it seemed) in the *Demoniack* did still further declare, that there was such a Contract; and the first time he got Hold of him, was upon a vain Wish he had in the Abby-Hall, That he might excel all others in Dancing. That the Contract was for Eighteen Months. Out of his Fits he would Confess what a Fancy he had for Dancing; and that he could not refrain from Dancing, after the said *James-Tide* was a Twelve Months, when he danced most Artificially in the Fits we saw, though he said, and others testify, he could not Dance at all before, nor then out of his Fits. The Youth out of his Fit would not Confess any Thing of a Contract with the Devil, that he knew of. But it is too probable there was a Confederacy, because the Devil was so ready to gratifie him; not only in such Artificial Dancing, but to tell many Things which could not be known without such hellish Help; yea those Discoveries being frequently upon whispering with something in a certain Corner. That it is the Devil that speaks in him seems very plain, speaking strange Languages which the Youth never learned, and with another Voice than his own; yea with two Voices at once, and sometimes speaking when the Organs of Speech were not made use of. Also his saying that he was God, and requiring to be worshipped; yea using many such Words and Gestures as are most dreadful; though the Youth can tell nothing of them when the Fit is over; yet at some other times in his Fits, he declaim-

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ed much against the Sins of the Place and Times.

Upon the 11th of *October* we again met at *Surrey*, in the same Manner and upon the same Account, the People still flocking to the Meeting very much, and many were much convinced, and wrought all along; the Lord working by Providence and Providence together. Being desired, I staid to see his Fit over, though that was not till about Eight a Clock in the Evening. Some of the Time was spent in Discoursing, Expounding, Singing and Praying. The Youth was very attentive all the while, and at the Close of the Exercises his Fit began and lasted about an Hour; in which Fit the Spirit said, That the Young Man was his own, declining any Discourse with me, and insulting at Mr. *Carrington's* not appearing that Evening, as he had done the Night before; for then Mr. *Carrington* had baited the Evil Spirit sufficiently. His Language in his Fit seemed to be but a Sort of Gibberish, at that time; or he spoke his Words so thick that I could make nothing of them; there was a great Number of People even in the Night, and they were very rude; so that some Harm was done to the Place, and likewise to some Persons.

We met again at *Surrey*, on the 18th Instant, and the Croud of People was very great, tho' the Season was very wet; it was some Distraction amongst our selves, that one of the Ministers, whilst he was Praying, turned his Speech to Satan as we thought, which some took to be an unwarrantable Apostrophe; though the Dissatisfaction was privately managed, yet the Devil took Notice of it, and reflected on some for it.

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Upon the 22d. Instant we met again at *Altham*, upon this Occasion; a great Concourse of People being there also, though we divulged not the Opportunity, but changed the Place on purpose to conceal it the more. He had a Fit in the Time of the Exercise, in which Fit two Voices spoke in him at the same time; and in a strange Manner, the Devil threatned what he would do this Day, and said, How narrowly the Youth escaped being hoisted quite away in the Air, as he came to the Meeting. Some would say, that it was a Bodily Distemper or Cheat; also that there was an Agreement of *Thomas Dugdale* the Father, with a Popish Priest; but *Thomas* disowned it, and the Event disproved it. Tho' some will not believe, yet it is as evident Testimony against the Prophanity and Vanity of the Times (whereof this Family had been very Guilty) as also against the Sadducism and Atheism of many. Yea some testifie their Envy against God's Servants, and their Enmity against his Way; as others are much convinced, and their Prejudice quite removed upon this Occasion. We could do no less, than with the Good *Samaritan* take Compassion when the Priest and Levite passed by.

However upon the 31st Instant we met again at *Surrey* upon this Occasion; the Evil Spirit had so tormented him the Night before, that his Limbs were taken from him, as to the Use of them, and he continued in great Pain; so that before we began the Exercise, he broke out into a Fit of Impatience, resolving that this should be the last Prayer Day, and that he would take another Course for his Help. Had his Parents been in the same Mind, we had then desisted. But his Parents entreated us to go on. The Youth was somewhat eased, and very quiet all the Time of the Exercise. In the Close he thanked

thanked us, and wished us to go on in the same Course.

So that it seems altogether Improbable by this, and several other Passages, that there was any ill Design or Cheat in the Party or in his Parents, though some have been apt to charge them to that purpose. Charity would rather offend on the other hand, especially when the Charge is so Criminal.

On the Seventh of November we met again at *Surrey* upon the same Account; and found Young *Dugdale* in a much better Disposition, and carrying it better than formerly. The Young Man seemed all along to us to be naturally of a plain Spirit; neither having the Art, nor being apt to dissemble the worse, nor the better. Here a Christian Candour appeared to us.

Again at *Surrey* upon the 14th Instant, since our last Meeting, a great Stone about Fourteen Pound Weight, as I suppose, was laid upon him in one of his Fits, yet without Harm to him. Neither the Family nor the Spectators knew whence it came, nor how it came there; no such Stone being there about.

The Day after he was extremely hurried in his Fits, ridden about and chafed on his Head, as if it were a Horse hard ridden, and of a very rank Smell. Yet the Spirit confessed in his Fit, there was good News for *Dick* (as he called the Youth) but ill News for it self, viz. the Spirit; meaning some Respite the *Demoniack* should have from his Fits for some considerable Time. The Youth fasted for Three or Four Days together, being always full, when he should come to his Meals; this seems unaccountable to us in a Natural ordinary Way.

Upon the 21st Instant we met again at *Surrey*, upon the same Account; our Number of Ministers and others was but slender, the Lord's

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assisting us (without any other Abatement of our Exercises at home and abroad) appeared both as to our Spirits and Bodies; for some of us found that we could well Fast Twenty four Hours, notwithstanding extraordinary Pains, besides on this Occasion.

The Youth's being lighter by more than the half, and heavier, or as heavy again as at other Times; yea, this in the same Dead Fit; is altogether unaccountable, when the *Sadducees* of the Times have studied and said their utmost.

Upon the 28th Instant we met at my House, this being one main Occasion of the Day; the Youth was quiet and attentive all the While; yea, very devout, both now and at other Times. Indeed sometimes his Carriage under the Ordinances, and at other Times, gave us some Hopes towards a Change, as to his Spiritual State; which would be much better to him, and more desirable to us; yet a partial Change as to that, and a perfect Change as to his Body, are signal desirable Mercies.

As he returned from the Meeting on the Lord's Day following, he had a Fit, in which, as some credible Persons said who were with him, he repeated the Heads of the Sermon, and the Proofs also. The Return of his Fits after many Days Discontinuance, must needs much Exercise us; but *Psalm* 31. 3. to 8. was of good Use to some of us in that Case. Yea, we were as fresh to Work as at the first, the Lord anointing us with fresh Oyl of his Spirit to enable us.

On the 5th of *December* we again met at *Surrey*. We were but two Ministers to carry on the Work. He told me of some private Discourse and Passages betwixt him and Sir *E. H.*

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On the 12th, we met at the *Sparth* on the same Occasion. We were but few, and the *Dæmoniack* was detained at home by a Fit. In that Fit the Devil told him he would find him somewhat else to do, than to Eat Bread and Cheese, with *Cotton-Cass* of *Sparth*, as he had done Twenty five Weeks before. He also told what Distress *Ireland* was in, and that *England* must Pay the Piper, as he termed it, notwithstanding its present Security. We have by sad Experience found the Truth of the *Dæmon's* Predictions in this, and other Instances. The false Prophet could foretel Evil, *Deut.* 13. 18. O that any Warnings might awaken us, That though our Iniquities have brought us very low, they may not be our Ruin.

In his Fit of the Day following he told us of some Money coming, before the Messenger came, by whom I sent some for their Relief; The Family being taken off their Calling, put to Charges, and very much Impoverished on this Occasion.

Upon the 20th Instant our Meeting was again at *Surrey*, upon this Account. We had but little Company. His Fits were not so frequent and violent as formerly; several Scriptures besides those before-mentioned had been insisted on in these Meetings, on this Occasion, *viz.* *Ephes.* 6. 12. *Mat.* 17. 21. *1 Tim.* 5. 15. *1 Tim.* 1. 13, 14, 15, 16. *Mat.* 11. 28, 29, 30. All which were directed for the satisfying of this Occasion to the Family and Country; that all might be Sanctified to us by the Word and Prayer, not only that the Devil might be driven from the *Dæmoniack*.

January the 1st at *Surrey*, my Brethren the Ministry being all taken off by other urgent Occasions, I turned this Meeting to an Exercise, there being a Likelyhood of a Temptation. As to the Success of Prayers, in this and other

Cases, I took Occasion from *Heb. 5. 7.* to clear the Providence of God, concerning that Point of the Answer of Prayer.

It was near Twelve Months we were almost Weekly employed upon this Account, in most solemn Prayer with Fasting, some of us coming many Miles. Had not some of us been long enured in hard Service, it could not have been so well endured.

Upon the 9th Instant we again met at *Surrey* as formerly. Before the Exercise began I dealt particularly and plainly with the Family. We had apparent Cause to judge that the Work did stick on their Part, considering how Popishly they had been brought up, and what Prophane Lives they had led: Yea, how little Sense some of them had of their sad Case, and how slow they were at Confessing what might be the Cause thereof. Some of my Brethren thought it requisite yet to deal more roughly with them, there being some Suspicion of a Contract with the Devil, or of Witchcraft amongst themselves. I confess I was somewhat shy as to further Proceeding, lest we had not ground to go upon; lest we should exceed the Bounds of our Calling; lest we should give the Man Occasion of Offence; yet they offering themselves to Tryal, some Tryal was made, and further was intended, that the Thing and themselves might be cleared. And in Case of grounded Suspicion as to Witchcraft or Imposture, the Matter must be put into the Magistrates Hands, who is the Judge in that Case, and must do as he sees Cause. We in the Use of Spiritual Means are concerned so far as it is a Possession. We would have proper Means used; and we would keep our Place.

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Upon the 23d Instant we again met at *Surrey*, on the same Occasion, and after the same manner. I thought the Work must be wholly devolved upon me, but one of my Brethren came in to my Help about the Middle of the Exercise. I had laboured to work some Sense upon the Youth as to the Nature of his Case; but alas! to little Purpose, so that I much feared the Total and Final giving him up to Satan in the worst Sense. The Devil acted him very strangely in his Fits, so that he did Feats much above his own Skill and Strength; and it is altogether wonderful his Head was not dashed in Pieces, and his Spirits quite spent; yet his Body was then in as good a Case, if not better than ever. The Doubt and Distraction about our Duty in this Case did much exercise me; Law Severities being so Foreign to my Spirit and Calling.

Upon the 6th of *February* we again met at *Surrey* upon the same Account. I was then wholly failed by my Brethren, through their other Occasions, as I suppose, but the Lord helped in all the Work. The Youth had been free from any considerable Fit a Fortnight, so that they seemed to be wearing off. In his last Fit he further spoke of Things done at a Distance, and at the same time when they were a doing.

Upon the 20th Instant there was again a more full Meeting of Ministers at *Surrey*, upon the Occasion aforesaid. Though the Discouragements from many others were very great, I then finished that Discourse upon 2 Cor II. 3. At the Close of the Exercise, we found the Youth something more Ingenuous towards us, though his Father shewed more Disingenuity. The Youth took Occasion to Confess further to me, that after the aforesaid Drunken Fit, upon *James-Tide*

Tide was Twelve-Months, and the dancing Humour he was then in, he had the Apparition of a Man's Head all along in the Way he went to *Westly-Hall*, and the Week after. When he came thither he wrought hard at the Hay, and was taken with a universal Merriness in the Evening of the same Day. He made himself Drunk again as he confessed, and in his Drink he was transported into such a Height of Prophaneity as astonished the Standers by, so that they concluded the Devil had some extraordinary Power over him. He also, as himself said, had an Apparition of the Devil, pointing at something he had lately done, so that then we concluded, the Devil in his Drink drew him into a blind Consent and Compact to satisfy his Curiosity and Dancing Humour. He also confessed to me since, that when he had thought to Confess something to this Purpose, his Mouth was stopped, so that he could not; and then he had a check for Confessing so much. Sometimes he refused to do what the Devil moved him to, and then it appeared he was tossed strangely.

Providence now seemed to call us off from attending upon this *Surrey* Case, laying before us Occasions and Opportunities of more publick Concernment. It seemed also to take us off from meeting at that Place, the Land-Lord being stirred up against the Family there, his Hedges being damaged by the Concourse of People; so that had we persisted in meeting there, it might have been prejudicial to them, they having much Dependence on him, as to their Worldly Affairs. In those Circumstances the Ministers, and others generally, rather halting in their Work also, as *Jacob* even when he prevailed for the Blessing. The Lord was pleased to give some visible Encouragement, as to the good Issue of this Affair in some sort;
for

for upon the 24th of *March* he had a most terrible Fit, and in that the Evil Spirit took his Leave of him. As it is said by several Witnesses, it left him with a strange Kind of Vomiting, yet nothing visible appearing.

After that Time he told me, he did not find that manner of Working in his Body as heretofore, so that he hoped he was delivered. I told him, that at the present we did not meet at his Father's House as formerly, for the Reasons aforementioned; yet we did continually remember his Case both privately and publickly. He owned the Spiritual Means, as the Cause whereby he had this Help, and desired our continuing of the Use thereof. He hath been altogether freed for these many Weeks (now Years) only once he had some Threatnings again as to a Fit, being then in Drink; this he was troubled for. He hath Cause to be troubled, remembring what Advantage Satan got against him by that Sin at first, dreading lest the Unclean Spirit should return, *and his last estate be worse than the first, Luke 11.* and the Lord smote him with his immediate Hand, which I endeavoured to set in with. Thus far Minutes were kept in a Diary, as to this Case.

This short Journal of the said Affair might seem necessary to give the World an Account of this surprizing Case.

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Minutes were kept in a Day, as to this Case.
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